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ABSTRACT

Volume 2 of the evaluation report of the effects of ESAP comprises 5 working papers resulting from the evaluators' decision to explore the variety of research problems relevant to desegregation and policy making that they met with during the evaluation process. The first two papers deal with race relations in desegregated Southern schools: the first paper treats the students' sense of belonging by looking at both black and white students who say "I really don't belong in this school"; the second working paper asks whether the school can induce teachers to change the way they react to desegregation. The third working paper speaks to two questions raised by the Coleman report: how big is the effect of the school on student achievement test performance? and, is a student's achievement affected by the social status of the students in the school? The fourth paper demonstrates that the racial composition of the Southern schools does not affect black achievement in any manner. The last paper is an effort to find some "scientific way" to look at the present furor over busing. In summary, it is contended that while desegregation does not seem to harm white achievement, it does little to raise black achievement. However, it is held that the most reassuring note is that teachers in desegregated schools can be influenced to accept desegregation and to make their black students welcome. (Author/RJ)

Overall Design

Robert L. Crain

United States Office of Education Project Officer

Robert L. York

Questionnaire Development

Robert L. Crain
Edgar Epps
Paul B. Sheatsley
Carol Bowman Stocking
Eve Weinberg
with Zahava Blum-Doering
and Enid Magidson

Test Construction

Darrell R. Bock

Design and Direction of Field Work

Fansayde Calloway
Eve Weinberg

Field Supervision

Ellen Mitchell
Jean Schwartz

Data Management and Programming

Scott Harrison
Jean Jenkins
Jarvis Rich
Julian T. Roberts

Management of Optically Scanned Instruments (National Computer Systems)

Charles Beauregard
Robert Panos

Analysis

Robert L. Crain: Study Director
James A. Davis: Busing
Janet D. Griffith: Integration
Terence C. Halliday: Achievement, Attitudes toward Integration
Jean Jenkins: Student Attitudes, Ability Grouping
Carlyle Maw: Experimental Design
Ruth E. Narot: Integration, Teacher Attitudes
Carol Bowman Stocking: Attitudes toward Integration
James J. Vanecko: Achievement

Research Assistants

Gregory Gaertner
Phyllis Krupa
Eric Roberts
A. Wade Smith

Manuscript Editing

Susan Campbell
Paige Wickland

Manuscript Preparation

Edna Houser
Frankie Kincaid
Mary Okazaki
Nella Siefert
Delores Sullivan
Toshi Takahashi

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SOUTHERN SCHOOLS
An Evaluation of the Effects of The Emergency School Assistance Program and of School Desegregation

Volume II

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

During the evaluation of ESAP-II, we came across a variety of research problems that are relevant to desegregation and to policy making. The five working papers in this volume are the result of our decision to explore some of this issues.

The first two papers deal with race relations in desegregated Southern schools. The first treats the student's sense of belonging by looking at both black and white students who say "I don't really belong in this school." A large minority of students say this; blacks say it more often than whites. For most students, sense of belonging is closely related to the race relations in the school: both races are more alienated when in the minority, or when racial tension is high. The main point of the analysis is to show that desegregation puts a great deal of strain on students of both races.

The authors of the first paper also note, however, that "The school is not the powerless victim." Teachers can make students feel more comfortable in a desegregated school. For black students, the most important thing that they can do is to show, by their actions, that they are sympathetic to black students and that they believe in desegregation. It is important to note that it is possible for teachers to make black students feel more at home without alienating white students.

The second working paper, by Ruth Narot, asks whether the school can induce teachers to change the way they react to desegregation. In her analysis, she shows that teachers' personal feelings about race are not easily changed; however, the way they react to the desegregated school, and more importantly, the way their feelings are perceived by one another and by their students, are influenced by the situation they are in. Narot concludes that the principal is the key to good race relations.

The third working paper speaks to two questions raised by the Coleman report: "How big is the effect of the school on student achievement test performance?" and "Is a student's achievement affected by the social status of the other students in the school?" The answer to the second question is an unequivocal yes: a student can be expected to do better in a middle-class school than in a working-class school. The answer to the question "How large is the effect of the school?" is less an exercise in statistical analysis than an experiment in the presentation of results. This part of the paper indicates that the conclusion commonly drawn from the Coleman report--that schools make no difference--is a sort of optical illusion, by pointing out that the results of the ESAP analysis (which generally agree with Coleman's) can be presented in different ways so as to make school effects look larger or smaller. The paper argues for a fairer conclusion--that schools can make a difference which, while not great, is well worth the effort. If schools do make a difference, however, this is not accomplished simply by manipulating their racial composition. Ruth Narot's analysis of achievement scores in the fourth working paper shows that the racial composition of Southern schools does not affect black achievement in any consistent manner. To the extent that it does have an effect, it appears that the optimal racial composition is for black and white students to be approximately equal in number. Achievement for both black and white students tends to be somewhat lower in schools that are predominantly white. Perhaps the most important finding of this analysis is that white achievement does not go down in schools that have many black students.

Black student achievement is affected by the social class of the white students, and by the quality of race relations in the school. Blacks do well academically when they are in school with high status whites and when white students are more accepting of integration. Black females do quite well in predominantly white high schools if they are afforded opportunities to participate in extracurricular activities.

The last working paper is an effort by James Davis to find some scientific way to look at the present furor over busing. After reviewing the National Public Opinion poll data on the issue, he attempts to define the school where students are "bused" in the now-popular meaning of the word, and then systematically search[illegible] any effects of busing. He carries out a cross-tabulation analysis, using five measures of aspects of desegregation and 28 possible outcome variables. Riding a bus to school is correlated with one of seven possible good or bad effects. He finds that, when white students are bused to school, racial tension is noticeably lower. That is not inconsistent with another finding of the report--that schools that are predominantly black have generally good race relations. The second of Davis' findings is that white morale is low in predominantly black schools, a finding quite consistent with the results of the analysis in Working Paper 1. The third, and weakest, finding is that achievement is lower for whites who attend schools in black neighborhoods. This runs contrary to the related analysis of the fourth working paper, and a replication of Davis' tabulation, using the standard multiple regression routine used elsewhere in the report, finds no negative effect on achievement. This makes it seem likely that the last finding is a statistical accident. All of this leads Davis to conclude that whatever good or bad things happen because of desegregation, the school bus itself has little to do with the issue.

In summary, the papers in this volume present something of the complexity of the desegregation process and its problems. It is clear that desegregation is a painful process for students. Yet, while it does not seem to harm white achievement, it does little to raise black achievement. This is true, in part, because the desegregated Southern school does too little to welcome its black students. The fortunate black student who attends school with middle-class whites, and the black girl who attends a predominantly white school that invites her into its social life, seem to benefit academically from integration. The most reassuring note is that presented in the second paper: teachers in desegregated schools can be influenced to accept desegregation and to make their black students welcome.

Robert L. Crain

WORKING PAPER 1

THE IMPACT OF SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS ON STUDENT DISSATISFACTION

by

Robert L. Crain and Jean Jenkins

This paper uses black and white student response to the statement "I feel like I don't belong in this school" as a measure of student dissatisfaction and locates some of the school characteristics associated with this phenomenon. Using a multiple regression analysis, we find that almost all of the important predictors of student dissatisfaction are related to racial integration. Black students are uncomfortable in schools where they are in the minority; however, a liberal teaching staff can do much to reduce their sense of alienation. Conversely, white students are most likely to say they "don't belong" when they are in predominantly black schools; however, if desegregation goes smoothly, with relatively little interracial friction, white dissatisfaction declines. White dissatisfaction is also lower if teacher and principal morale are high. Thus we conclude that while desegregation places great stress on both white and black students, the professional staff of the schoool has considerable influence on student feelings.

Introduction

"I feel like I don't belong in this school." A minority of white and black students agree with this statement. What do they mean? We suspect that, for most of them, "to belong" means to be in the right place--as in "the hammer doesn't belong on that shelf." But if one is not "in place," one is 'out of place"--a phrase that suggests alienation, a sense of being in a foreign country. The student who says, "I don't really belong here," may be saying, "this isn't really me here--the real me should be somewhere else." This study does not provide the data to isolate any single concept that could be associated with the "belonging" response. We shall use the phrase "dissatisfaction" and some of its synonyms in this paper, but the reader should bear in mind that the concept is a diffuse one.

In a typical high school, 31 per cent of the black students and 21 per cent of the white students say that they don't belong. These percentages are given in Table 1.1. The table also shows that fifth grade black students are more likely to say that they don't belong than are fifth grade white students. Elementary school students are more likely to say that they do not belong than are high school students, but we are not sure that this measurement is accurate; response bias may have inflated the responses for the elementary schools. High school students were asked simply to agree or disagree with the statement, "I feel like I don't really belong in this school." With elementary school students, however, we wished to avoid using the concepts of agree and disagree, preferring simple yes-no questions. For this reason, the fifth grade wording became "Do you feel like you don't really belong in this school?" Students who felt that they belonged were then required to disagree with a negatively worded statement. We are inclined to think that this was sufficiently confusing that a number of fifth grade students agreed with the statement in error. Since, however, the fifth grade students were read the questions aloud, the better interviewers may have elicited the true response by enabling the students to understand the question.

Table 1.1 also gives the standard deviation of the distribution of school means. The standard deviations are reasonably large. If we contrast the black student bodies that are one standard deviation above the mean with those one standard deviation below, the percentage of fifth graders responding favorably would change from 72 per cent to 37 per cent; that of tenth graders from 89 per cent to 50 per cent. For white students, the ranges are also large: for fifth graders, from 81 per cent to 51 per cent; for tenth graders, from 90 per cent to 68 per cent. It seems clear that schools where only one-half or fewer of the black students feel that they really belong are schools with serious problems.

TABLE 1.1

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WHO SAY THEY "DON'T BELONG" IN THEIR SCHOOL,[a] BY GRADE AND RACE, WITH STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE BETWEEN-SCHOOL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES

Grade and Race	Per Cent Who "Don't Belong"	σ of School Means
Tenth grade black . .	31	19.1
Tenth grade white . .	21	11.4
Fifth grade black . .	46	17.5
Fifth grade white . .	34	14.7

[a] Question wording:

Fifth grade:	"Do you feel like you don't really belong on this school?" (yes,no)
Tenth grade:	"I feel like I don't really belong in this school." (agree or disagree)

The use of a single item, rather than a scale, considerably reduces reliability. We would assume that, at the school level, the test-retest correlation of this item would not be much above .7. Later, we will look at multiple regression equations using "belonging" as the dependent variable, and find that we can explain 20 to 40 per cent of the variance. This indicates that we are explaining a very large fraction of the non-random variance on this item.

It is not surprising that this sense of not belonging in one's school is related to other measures of dissatisfaction and alienation. Table 1.2 gives the correlates of the percentages who feel they belong in their school. For fifth grade black students the percentage who feel that they do belong is strongly correlated (r = .33) with the percentage of students who score high on a scale of liking school. (This includes questions about liking to go to the school in the morning, not hating school, and liking one's teacher or principal.) The percentage who say they belong in their school is equally strongly associated with the percentage who decline to say yes to several questions inviting them to say they get angry at their teachers, or to complain about unfairness of discipline.

TABLE 1.2

CORRELATIONS OF SENSE OF BELONGING WITH OTHER ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL STATUS OF STUDENTS OF SAME RACE

Variable	Correlations with Belonging			
	Fifth grade		Tenth grade	
	Black	White	Black	White
No complaints about being treated unfairly (BRAT9) . . .	.29	.25	.35	.34
Like school	.33	.22	.42	.47
Low absenteeism, not sent to office, not in fight (tenth grade only)			.14	.31
Socioeconomic status scale . . .	-.01	.10	-.06	-.07

For fifth grade white students, the correlations are slightly lower but remain fairly high. For tenth grade students, we have an additional variable--a measure of minor delinquent behavior. The students were asked how often they intentionally stayed away from school, whether they had gotten into a fight, and whether they had been sent to the principal's office for disciplinary reasons. The percentage of students who score low on the scale of minor delinquent activities is positively associated with the percentage of students who feel they belong in their school. This association is weak for tenth grade black students; for both black and white students, it is considerably weaker than the correlation between the percentage scoring high on the "I like school" scale and sense of belonging.

Black Social Status and Dissatisfaction

One might assume that the number of students who don't like school, who complain about being treated unfairly, and who feel they don't belong would be greatest in low-income schools. In fact, this is generally not the case. The correlations of sense of belonging with the mean social status of the students of each race-age group are generally very small, and in three of the four cases are in the unexpected direction--high status schools have more students complaining about not belonging. Of course, this does not mean that the complaints are coming from the highest status students; a lower status student might be more likely to complain about not belonging in a high status school than in a school where other students are of the same status. Yet, it is true that high schools with middle-class black student bodies have the highest level of tension. High schools with high status black students have more black students who say they do not like school and more who have committed minor delinquent acts. (The correlation of school mean black status with non-delinquency scale score is -.26; the correlation of mean social status with the black school mean on the "I like school" scale is -.20.) It is very important to keep this in mind when reading our analysis. Black alienation is not a matter of poverty; the Southern high schools with the most alienated black students are those with middle-class blacks.

The Influences on Sense of Belonging: A Regression Search

We determined the school factors that influenced black and white sense of belonging by a partial correlation and regression search through the approximately 300 variables that characterize our schools. We intentionally excluded almost all variables that were reports by students of the same race, since it would be virtually impossible to establish the causal direction of two student responses. We included student responses only where we felt reasonably confident that the response could not be caused by sense of belonging. The remaining variables are reports by principals, community leaders, teachers, and students of the opposite race.

Any methodology has advantages and disadvantages. The clear advantage of an unrestricted search procedure is that it permits unanticipated variables to enter the equations. When the final best-fitting equation is collected we can be sure that we have not missed anything. The disadvantages of this method are equally obvious. First, in many cases the variables that select themselves to enter the equation are totally uninterpretable and we must resign ourselves in advance to this. Second, high correlations between some of the independent variables may mean that two nearly identical variables will enter two different equations, each serving as a proxy for the other. If we study the correlations between the variables in the study carefully, we will find this problem to be only a minor irritation. The third and most important problem is that the set of predictors is no better than the universe of variables from which it was selected. In our case, the universe contains a very large number of variables related to race relations but relatively few that deal with the actual functioning of the classroom.

The Results: Black Sense of Belonging

The results of the regression analysis are shown in Table 1.3 (for blacks) and Table 1.4 (for whites). In order to minimize problems of multicollinearity, we elected to include only seven independent variables in each regression run. In general, the results for elementary school and high school students are very similar. In an appendix to this paper, we present the zero-order correlations of all of the variables from the four regression analyses with the students' sense of belonging for all four race and age groups. When a variable does not operate consistently for fifth and tenth graders, we will call it to the reader's attention.

In Table 1.3, only one variable appears in identical form for both fifth and tenth grade black students--the racial composition of the school student body. Not surprisingly, both fifth and tenth grade black students are more likely to feel that they don't belong if they are in predominantly white schools. In addition, black high school students are more likely to say that they do belong if they are attending a school that was black before desegregation. This variable is slightly more important than present racial composition. That this is so points up an important fact: the conflict between white and black high school students is a conflict over symbols. Black students attending previously black school are on their own "turf"; the white students in that situation are the ones in foreign territory.

For both fifth and tenth grade black students, the variable with the largest standarized regression coefficient is the student response to questions about whether their teachers and principals like segregation or

TABLE 1.3

REGRESSION EQUATIONS PREDICTING BLACK SENSE OF BELONGING

Variable (stated in positive direction)	Standardized Regression Coefficient	
	Fifth Grade	Tenth Grade
Community Characteristics:		
Per pupil expenditures for education (PPDOLD)[a]		-.12
School board is appointed (SBSELD)	-.13	
Desegregation Characteristics of School:		
Per cent white of student body (PWHITP)	-.16	-.17
School was white before desegregation (PRIORP)		-.23
Community Racial Activity:		
Community biracial committee judged effective (BICOML)	-.19	
Staff Racial Behavior:		
Teachers like desegregation (TLKITB)	.22	
Teachers and Principals like desegregation (TLINTB)		.30
School Atmosphere:		
Per cent of black students who transferred out last year (BOTRAP)		-.12
Minority students demanding ethnic studies (ETHNST)		.20
Fighting has not increased since desegregation (WFIGHT)		.16
School Educational Activities:		
Size of remedial reading program (READSY)	-.20	
Size of team teaching program (TEAMSY)	.17	
Size of ungraded classroom program (UNGRSY)	-.11	
Total r^2 explained	19%	38%

[a] See notes in the appendix of this paper (p. 16) for explanation of the acronym notation.

TABLE 1.4

REGRESSION EQUATIONS PREDICTING WHITE SENSE OF BELONGING

Variable (stated in positive direction)	Standardized Regression Coefficient	
	Fifth Grade	Tenth Grade
Student Characteristics:		
Achievement (ATOTAW)[a]	.20	
School Desegregation Plan:		
School was white before desegregation (PRIORP*)	.25	
Racial composition of school changed this year (RCHNGP*)		-.25
Per cent of students riding school bus (TRANSW)		-.14
Per cent not attending school nearest their home (CLSPSW*)	-.30	
School has white principal (PRACEP*) . . .		.21
School Atmosphere:		
Teachers report few desegregation problems (NOPROT)		.18
Teachers report good intergroup relations, few problems (RREV9T)	.14	
No school activities cancelled because of racial problems (RPROBT)		.16
Black students do not feel mistreated (BRAT9B)	.17	
Staff Attitudes:		
Principal states tests not good indicators of ability (TEST9P)	.14	
Principal considers his white teachers to be competent (WTQUAP).		.14
Teachers feel they are adequately trained (LACKTT)		.18
School Educational Activities:		
School has revised curriculum (CREVSY) . .	.13	
Total r^2 explained	29%	27%

[a] See notes in the appendix of this paper (p.16) for explanation of the acronym notation.

dislike it. Students are much more likely to feel they belong when they evaluate their school staff as pro-desegregation.

For high school students, there is an interesting balance between two variables relating to school atmosphere. On the one hand, black students are more comfortable where racial tension is low;[1] on the other hand, black students are more comfortable where they have been demanding ethnic study courses. Thus, while the absence of physical violence is a good thing, it is better if this is replaced by a constructive outlet for the tension between blacks and whites, rather than by mere apathy. Demands for ethnic studies reflect the fact that black students have been able to establish a political organization and a sense of community identity. The most successful desegregated schools would thus seem to be the ones that have been able to channel black expression of concern into political activity rather than violence.

There is a slight tendency for black high school students to feel less comfortable in school districts with a very high per-pupil expenditures. We suspect that this results from a process similar to that which produces high levels of delinquency and dislike for school in high status black schools. The most prosperous Southern school districts are probably in the largest urban areas and in those areas with very high levels of education. This means that they are also likely to be the most sophisticated and politicized. As we have pounted out before, the ideal situation involves a compromise between too much apathy and too much politicalization.[2]

Fifth grade students are probably less tolerant of political tension than are tenth grade students. If true, this would explain why there are two interesting reversals between fifth and tenth grade students in the regression analysis. Black students have a stronger sense of belonging in high schools where they have demanded ethnic studies; for fifth graders this correlation drops to zero. In similar fashion, fifth grade students are more likely to feel they belong when they are in school districts where there is not an effective community biracial committee. Communities without an active biracial committee are probably more apathetic and less likely to raise issues related to race and desegregation in community forums. We would not expect high school students to be upset by the raising of these issues, and this is in fact the case: there is no negative correlation between the effectiveness of the biracial committee and tenth grade students' sense of belonging.

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[1] Our indicator of racial tension is the teacher's report of whether fighting has increased since desegregation.

[2] A statistical study of Southern counties presents some data to indicate that high status counties have more racial tension than low status counties. See Donald Matthews and James Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

The remaining variables in a regression analysis are difficult to interpret. There is a strong tendency for fifth grade students to be uncomfortable in schools that have placed considerable emphasis on remedial reading. We speculate that elementary school remedial reading programs tend to label black students as intellectually inferior. The remaining fifth grade variables in Table 1.3 are difficult to interpret. Apparently, schools with team teaching programs successfully integrate their black students. It is also true, however, that schools with ungraded classroom programs--which often occur in combination with team teaching across our sample of schools--tend to produce alienation. One might speculate about the explanations for these two findings, but there is no way to bring evidence to bear to support any speculation, and we have elected instead not to attempt interpretation of these results. Similarly, it was found that students in districts with appointed school boards are more likely to feel alienated--a second finding for which we have no interpretation.

As is usually the case with analyses of these data, the poorest prediction of student attitudes is for fifth grade black students. We explain only 19 per cent of the variance with the seven variables used in the regression equation. Seven variables explained 38 per cent of the variance for the tenth grade black students; this is the best prediction equation of the four race-age groups.

In summary, these two regression equations have highlighted the problems of Southern desegregation. Desegregation is stressful, threatening the students whose early education was in a segregated environment. The school must respond by adopting liberal racial policies, permitting expression of black concerns in high schools, at the same time limiting the amount of political tension and violence. The school must work to establish a happy medium between too much apathy and too much politics.

The most important predictor of satisfaction for black students is their perception of the acceptance of desegregation by the teachers and principal of the school. Since this is true for other measures of student dissatisfaction as well, we decided to analyze teacher attitudes and student perception of teacher racial behavior in a separate working paper.

White Sense of Belonging

Table 1.4 presents the best seven predictors of white sense of belonging in elementary schools and high schools. The story parallels that of black students in important ways. While school racial composition does not directly enter these equations, it is represented by several proxy variables. White elementary school students are most comfortable when they are attending their neighborhood school (the single best predictor) and when they are attending a school that was white before desegregation. High school students are most comfortable when few of them travel by bus to school, when the school has a white principal, and when the racial composition of the school has not changed in the preceding year. In short, whites, like blacks, are comfortable on their own turf.

The other set of variables related to race relations enters under the heading of school atmosphere. In general, we find a stronger sense of belonging when teachers report that desegregation is going well. (The first two variables--teachers report few desegregation problems and teachers report good intergroup relations with few problems--are very similar.) For high schools, it is important that school dances and elections have not been cancelled as a result of desegregation or racial tension; in elementary schools,it is important that the black students do not report a great deal of anger about perceived mistreatment and injustice. In short, white students say they "belong" where desegregation is working.

The three variables under staff attitudes all suggest that high morale and an easy-going attitude on the part of the staff help white students adapt to desegregation. Elementary school students are less dissatisfied when the principal expresses the view that tests are not accurate measures of student performance. This suggests that the principal is more sympathetic to the relatively poor test scores of black students; it may also mean that he or she is not anxious to demand that the white students in the school reach some rigid standardized level of performance. High school students have a stronger sense of belonging if the principal considers the white teachers in the school to be good, and if the teachers themselves feel comfortable with the responsibilities they have; that is, they do not say "I feel like I don't have enough training." These last two variables are not related to white fifth grade sense of belonging, and are negatively correlated with black fifth and tenth grade sense of belonging. We suspect that these responses do not reflect self-confidence as much as they do a staff that ignores the problems of black students, and that this is the real reason why white students are comfortable in these schools.

The last variable in the table indicates that white students are more comfortable in elementary schools that have revised their curriculum recently. Elementary school curriculum revision is generally associated with the introduction of more liberal and individualized school policy, with classroom reorganization to maximize individualized instruction, and a general strategy of getting rid of the fixed-chair, teacher-at-the-blackboard style of education. This is consistent with smaller positive correlations between white sense of belonging and the presence of team teaching and ungraded classrooms.

Correlations with other dependent variables (not shown) suggest that these modern reforms of classroom organization have positive effects on white elementary school students. The results are not completely consistent, however, and we can only note that the problem is worthy of further study. We must also point out that these analyses have not shown positive effects on black elementary school students for these variables: for example, presence of ungraded classrooms (a variable correlated with curriculum revision) correlated negatively with black sense of belonging.

Finally, there is a strong association between the percentage of fifth grade white students who feel they belong in their school and white achievement, This, despite the fact that the correlation of sense of belonging with social class is not very strong, suggests nothing more profound than that white students are happier in schools that have succeeded in motivating their students to work hard and perform to the best of their ability on standardized tests. Thus, the white portion of our analysis is less complex than what we have seen for blacks--the major finding is that desegregation is stressful. The best response a school can make to this problem is to solve the problems of desegregation with an eye to minimizing racial tension, developing and maintaining a staff with a high level of confidence and morale, and generally running a "good school," as reflected in higher-than-expected test scores.

Summary

We believe that this analysis of sense of belonging should not surprise the informed and objective reader. Desegregation of Southern schools involves a sudden wrenching of traditional values. It provides a new experience of racial equality that threatens the identity of both white and black students. As long as the school remains the "turf" of one race, the other will be alienated. But the school is not the powerless victim of desegregation; if the staff presents itself to the black students as sympathetic to integration, it can make them feel at home without alienating the whites. The school has other opportunities to minimize student alienation and discomfort as well. The most important way a school can help is by doing the most reasonable and obvious things--by treating black students with respect, providing white students with a competent and confident staff, and working to minimize overt violence without a heavy-handed supression of the aspirations of black students.

TABLE A

ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS OF BELONGING WITH VARIOUS OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

(An "R" following a correlation coefficient indicates that the variable is one of the independent variables in the regression equation that best predicts sense of belonging in students of that age and race.)

Variable Name and Descriptor		Fifth Grade		Tenth Grade	
		Black	White	Black	White
General Community Characteristics:					
LEA999	Border state (low category, Deep South)	-.02	-.01	.05	-.03
PURBAN	Per cent urban in district (1960)	-.13	-.15	.07	-.06
YEARED	Mean years education of district adults (1960)	-.15	-.05	.01	-.03
PNONWH*	Per cent white in district population (1960)	-.17	.10	-.20	.09
TOPUPP	Number of pupils in the school	.01	-.09	.02	-.08
PPDOLD	Dollar expenditure per pupil (district average)	.03	-.06	-.08R	-.03
Student Characteristics:					
ATOTAB	Black students' achievement level	.03		-.03	
ATOTAW	White students' achievement level		.17R		-.02
SES99W	(Same race) socioeconomic status	.01	.10	-.06	-.07
Desegregation Plan Characteristics:					
PWHITP	Per cent white in student body	-.20R	.28	-.38R	.24
PRACEP*	Principal is white	-.15	.27	-.40	.27R
PRIORP*	School was white before desegregation	-.15	.34R	-.44R	.23
RCHNGP*	Racial composition of school changed this year	-.01	-.14	-.02	-.28R
CLSPS*	This is not student's neighborhood school	-.19	-.36R		
TRANS	Per cent of students who take school bus	-.03	-.14	-.28	-.10R
BOTRAP	Per cent of black students who transferred out this year	.05	.00	-.24R	-.22
Community Activities:					
BICOML*	Effective biracial committee on school problems	-.19R	-.09	-.01	-.06

Table A--Continued

Variable Name and Descriptor		Fifth Grade		Tenth Grade	
		Black	White	Black	White
Staff Racial Behavior:					
TLKIT.*, TCHLI.	Teachers like desegregation	.27R	.05	.35	.04
TLINT.	Teachers and principal like desegregation	.17	.07	.44R	-.07
School Atmosphere:					
RREV9T	Desegregation proceeding smoothly, few problems	.10	.12R	.14	.16
NOPROT	Few or no problems due to desegregation	.11	.14	.04	.23R
WFIGHT*	Amount of fighting has not increased since desegregation	.13	-.02	.23R	.04
RPROBT	No activities cancelled due to race problems			.06	.16R
BRAT9[a]	(Other race) students do not feel mistreated	.09	.14R	.09	.07
ETHNST	Minority students demand ethnic studies	.03	.04	.12R	-.08
Staff Attitudes:					
TEST9P	Tests are not good indicator of student ability	.05	.07R	.06	-.02
LACKTT	Teachers do not lack training	-.07	.00	-.13	.19R
WTQUAP	White teachers in this school are high quality	-.04	.01	-.13	.19R
Programs:					
TEAMSY	Adequacy of size of team teaching program	.07R	.08		
UNGRSY	Adequacy of size of ungraded classrooms	-.10R	.07		
READSY	Adequacy of size of remedial reading	-.15R	.02	-.02	-.15
CREVSY	Adequacy of size of major curriculum revisions	-.06	.13R	.04	-.06
Miscellaneous:					
SBSELD	School board is appointed	-.10R	-.12	.19	-.05

[a] Correlations are BRAT9B with BLONGW and BRAT9W and BLONGB.

Notes on Variable Names and Descriptors Used in Correlation and Regression Tables

(for Tables 1.3, 1.4, and A)

The last letter in a variable acronym indicates from whom the information was obtained:

P,X,Y,Z = Principal
T = Teachers
G = Guidance Counselor
D = ESAP District Director
L = Community Leaders
B = Black Students
W = White Students

If the information is from the students' questionnaire, and the table entries are black responses correlated with black belonging, etc., and white responses correlated with white belonging, etc., then the last letter of the variable name has been replaced by a period.

Example: TLINT.

The variable name column contains only one entry if the variable name is the same on the data tapes for both grade levels. If not, the fifth grade variable name is on the left.

Example: ESTOPT, HSTOPT

In some cases, the variable has been inverted in an attempt to make variables in a given category consistent with each other. Such variables are marked with an asterisk.

Example: PNONWH*

In these tables we report that fifth grade black sense of belonging is correlated 0.17 with the per cent white of the community; the data as they exist on our tapes show the correlation as +.17 with per cent nonwhite.

WORKING PAPER 2

TEACHER PREJUDICE AND TEACHER BEHAVIOR IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

by

Ruth E. Narot

Introduction

At various points throughout our analysis, we have seen that teacher racial attitudes play an important role in establishing the quality of social relations in the school. For example, Working Paper 1 shows that black students are less likely to say, "I feel I don't belong in this school," when they perceive their teachers and principal as favoring integration. Also, in Chapter 2 of Volume I, we reported that teacher or principal attitudes about integration influenced the attitudes of most subgroups of students. If schools could improve the racial attitudes of their faculties, they would make blacks more comfortable, and also improve the general racial climate.

The question we address in this paper is "Can the racial attitudes and racial behavior of teachers be changed?" One school of thought is that racial attitudes and racial behavior are deep-seated, resistant to change; other research has drawn the opposite conclusion--that attitudes and behavior can be changed.

Our general hypothesis is that the truth lies between these two views--that we can distinguish between different kinds of racial attitudes and between attitudes and behavior, and we will find that while some attitudes or behavior are not easily changed, others are.

The problem can be broken into two simple analytic parts: (1) the attitudes of teachers about blacks, both in general, and specifically as students, and (2) their behavior toward students as measured by the reports of the students and other teachers. Teachers often have certain prejudices against blacks, but behavior reflecting this is not necessarily acted out in school and perceived by students. It is possible that schools can change the behavior of teachers and their reaction to integration without overhauling their ingrained feelings of racial prejudice. To test this, we will look at a variety of dependent variables, all of which pertain in some way to teacher racial attitudes and behavior. The analysis is done for both the fifth and tenth grades. Although the basic findings are the same, the sets of variables are slightly different for the two grades.

At the tenth grade level, we use six dependent variables. The first is a teacher racial prejudice scale. It deals with attitudes about blacks in general and has nothing to do with school integration or students per se. The scale consists of the following items with which the respondent had to agree or disagree:

1. The amount of prejudice against minority groups in this country is highly exaggerated.
2. I would like to live in an integrated neighborhood.
3. The civil rights movement has done more good than harm.
4. Blacks and whites should not be allowed to intermarry.
5. If you had to choose one factor which accounts for failure of the Negro to achieve equality, which would you choose?
    a) Lack of initiative and drive.
    b) Restrictions imposed by a white society.

The scale is coded so that a higher score indicates more liberal attitudes.

The next dependent variable is a school-related prejudice scale, specifically concerned with students and integration. It is composed of the following:

1. Some people say that black students would really be better off in all-black schools. What do you think?
2. What about white students--do you think that whites are generally better off in all-white schools?

3. Do you feel that you should let your students know how you feel about race relations or would that be improper?

4. What proportion of your minority group students are performing adequately by your standards for this grade level?

5. What proportion of your minority group students would you say have the potential to attend the largest state university in your state?

This scale is a combination of attitudes and behavior. In it, there are general questions on whether school desegregation is valuable, as well as an indication of how racial issues are handled in class. As with teacher prejudice, a high score on the school-related prejudice scale denotes liberal racial attitudes.

The next three dependent variables are others' perceptions of a teacher.[1] The first is the percentage of teachers in a school who say that their fellow white teachers like integration. We also use a student evaluation of staff attitudes: the percentage of black and white students who say that their school staff is pro-integration.

These measures are worded as if they are perceptions of attitudes, but, the attitudes of others cannot, of course, be observed. There must be some action--a conversation, for example--from which the attitude can be inferred. Therefore, we interpret these as measures of teacher behavior, rather than of teach attitudes.

The last dependent variable is a teacher evaluation of how well desegregation is working in the school. This measures neither a simple attitude toward blacks, nor a simple perception of the facts; rather, it measures, in part, the mind-set with which the teacher evaluates the school situation. It is a school-specific racial attitude measure, similar to the school-related prejudice scale. Thus, the variable is to some degree a measure of how well desegregation is actually working, and in part a measure of the teacher's own receptivity and liberalism. The scale is composed of the following items:

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[1] The reader should bear in mind that these perceptions of other's behavior are highly influenced by the reporting student or teacher's own attitude.

1. On the whole, how would you evaluate the way in which desegregation is working in your school?

   No problems . . . . . serious problems.

2. How would you describe the contact between minority group and white pupils in your school?

   Very tense . . . . . many intergroup friendships.

3. Here are a list of things that have happened in some desegregated schools. Please indicate whether or not each of these things happened at your school.

   a) white students are becoming less prejudiced.
   b) new educational programs are improving school.
   c) all students are learning more.

A high score on this scale is a positive evaluation of desegregation.

For the fifth grade analysis, three variables change. A teacher's evaluation of other white teachers was not used. In addition, for fifth graders we have the students' perceptions of their own teachers. It is coded as the percentage of students who say that their own teacher is pro-integration.

Our first hypothesis is that the measures are not unidimensional. This can be seen by looking at the intercorrelations in Table 2.1 and 2.2. The fifth and tenth grade tables show approximately the same thing--that teacher prejudice is not highly correlated with other measures of staff racial attitudes. In high schools, the correlation between teacher prejudice and the percentage of black students who say that the staff is pro-integration is .29. The correlation of teacher prejudice and their evaluation of desegregation is only .07.

For the tenth grade, the correlation between the percentage of whites who say that the staff supports integration and the percentage of blacks who say the same thing is .34. This is low enough that we can assume that this judgment is the result of different factors for blacks and whites. Teacher prejudice is more strongly associated with the perceptions of white students than with those of blacks.

TABLE 2.1

INTERCORRELATIONS OF SIX TEACHER ATTITUDE VARIABLES

(Tenth Grade)

Variable	Teacher Prejudice Scale	School-related Prejudice	Per Cent Teachers feel White Teachers like Integration	Teachers feel integration is working well	Per cent White students feel staff likes integration	Per cent Black Students feel staff likes integration
Teacher prejudice scale	--	+.84	+.42	+.07	+.43	+.29
School-related prejudice			+.53	+.28	+.48	+.33
Per cent teachers feel white teachers like integration				+.29	+.49	+.25
Teachers feel integration is working well					+.23	+.09
Per cent white students feel staff likes integration						+.34
Per cent black students feel staff likes integration						--

TABLE 2.2

ZERO CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SEVEN DEPENDENT VARIABLES

(Fifth Grade)

Variable	Teacher Prejudice Score	School-Related Prejudice Scale	Teachers' Evaluation of Desegregation	Per Cent White Students feel Staff Likes Integration	Per Cent Black Students feel Staff Likes Integration	Per Cent White Students Feel Teacher Likes Integration	Per Cent Black Students Feel Teacher Likes Integration
Teacher prejudice score	1.00	.70	.32	.28	.18	.23	.16
School-related prejudice scale . . .		1.00	.49	.33	.24	.21	.22
Teachers'evaluation of desegregation .			1.00	.18	.24	.22	.17
Per cent white students feel staff likes integration				1.00	.42	.47	.24
Per cent black students feel staff likes integration					1.00	.07	.46
Per cent white students feel their teacher is anti-integration . . .						1.00	.21
Per cent black students feel their teacher is anti-integration . . .							1.00

In elementary schools, the same pattern is evident. Teacher prejudice is more strongly correlated with their evaluation of desegregation (r = .32) than it was in high schools. The fifth grade teacher prejudice scale is not highly correlated with either white or black students' perceptions of the staff. As in the tenth grade, the correlation is higher for whites than for blacks. The zero-order r between teacher prejudice and black student perceptions of staff attitudes is .18. The same correlation for white children is .28.

The correlation between the percentage of whites who say the staff is pro-integration and the percentage of blacks who say the same thing is .42. This is stronger than the same relationship in high schools.

Background Predictors of Teacher Attitudes and Behavior

The correlation between items indicates that attitudes and behavior are not the same. We assume that personal feelings about blacks are primarily the result of personal and community background characteristics--race, age, sex, education, region--over which the school has little control. At the same time, we also feel that these factors should have less impact on teacher behavior.

We regressed seven background variables on the entire set of dependent variables for both the fifth and tenth grades and calculated the best equation using those variables. Most of the background information we have is on students. For teachers, we know only a few bits of information: age, sex, race, and education level. Aside from controls for region and urbanism, the seven control variables we selected are the only information we have on teachers' personal characteristics. The best equation is the one that maximizes the percentage of variance explained and minimizes the standard error of the estimate.

We tried to keep the equations short, deleting variables unless they had a noticeable effect on the total variance explained. Beta weights are not given for variables that were dropped from the equation. Many of these variables are highly correlated with each other; inclusion of one may eclipse the effect of another. Thus, the urban percentage may be strong in one equation, the mean years of education strong in another. For our purposes, it is not important to assess why one measure works in one equation but not in another.

The point of the analysis is twofold. First, we used it to select a good equation to control for the effect of background factors that are logically prior to any school effects. We will use these equations as controls when we explore other school and community effects. The second purpose of these equations is to show that the total impact of background variables, used in the most efficient of combinations in each case, varies considerably from one dependent variable to another. We see the same pattern for both the fifth and tenth grades. Background variables explain a large percentage of the variance in teacher prejudice, and essentially none for measures of behavior specific to the school.

At the tenth grade level, the seven background variables explain 39 per cent of the variance in teacher prejudice. Yet they account for only 9 per cent of the variance in the black student's perceptions of staff attitudes, and for only 3 per cent of the variance in the teacher's evaluation of desegregation.

In the fifth grade, the pattern of the percentage of variance explained is identical to that in high school. The figures are given in Table 2.4. The independent background variables explain 40 per cent of the variance in teacher prejudice, 20 per cent of school-related prejudice, and only 7 per cent of the teacher's evaluation of desegregation. Background variables have virtually no impact on student perceptions.

The background variables that do have an effect act in the same way for both grades. The larger the number of whites on the staff, the more likely the staff is to be prejudiced. This might be explained by the fact that whites are more prejudiced, but it may also be true that whites in schools with all-white staffs are more prejudiced than those in schools with integrated staffs. In the Deep South and in rural districts, attitudes are less tolerant.[2] The larger the number of whites on the staff, the more black students see the staff as not supporting integration. White students are less affected by staff racial composition.

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[2] The variable of "Upper South" is measured by per pupil dollar expenditure, which is greater outside the Deep South.

TABLE 2.3

MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS ON SIX DEPENDENT VARIABLES (BETAS)[a]

(Tenth Grade)

Background Variables	Teacher Prejudice Scale	School-Related Prejudice	Per cent Teachers Feel White Teachers Like Integration	Teachers Feel Integration Is Working Well	Per Cent Black Students Feel Staff Likes Integration	Per Cent White Students Feel Staff Likes Integration
Per cent white teachers . . .	-.47	-.30			-.18	
Per cent male teachers . . .			-.09		+.10	
Per cent teachers under 35 years old	+.21	+.27	+.16		+.15	+.21
Per cent teachers with more than 4 years college				-.08	+.10	
Mean years of education in district . . .	+.14					
Per Cent urban in district .	+.24	+.31	+.25	+.10	+.08	+.24
Dollars spent per pupil in district . . .	+.10	+.19	+.22	-.07	+.13	+.19
Total (r^2)	.39	.31	.13	.03	.09	.14

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[a] Betas are standardized regression coefficients.

TABLE 2.4

MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS ON DEPENDENT VARIABLES (BETAS)[a]

(Fifth Grade)

Background Variables	Teacher Prejudice Scale	School Related Prejudice	Teachers Feel Integration Is Working Well	Per Cent Black Students Who Say Staff Likes Integration	Per Cent White Students Who Say Staff Likes Integration	Per Cent Black Students Who Say Teachers Like Integration (-TLKITB)	Per Cent White Students Who Say Teachers Like Integration (-TLKITW)
Per cent teachers who are white .	-.53	-.34	-.19	-.13	-.13	-.13	
Per cent male teachers . .	+.13	+.11	+.09				
Per cent teachers under 35 years old	+.12	+.08	+.12		+.10		+.08
Per cent teachers with more than 4 years college				-.09			
Mean years of education in district . .			+.03	+.05	+.13		+.08
Per cent urban in district.	+.21	+.19					+.04
Dollars spent per pupil in district . .	+.35	+.24		+.06	+.17	+.09	
Total (r^2)	.40	.20	.07	.03	.07	.02	.02

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[a] Betas are standardized regression coefficients.

Other Predictors of Staff Attitudes

Having controlled for background, we can create a list of variables that we predict might have an effect on teacher attitudes. They were selected as obviously logical candidates and are: principal's race and racial liberalism, and the degree to which the principal is active in the school; the level of civil rights activity in the community; various human relations programs; the length of time the school district has been desegregated; and the racial composition of the student body.

For each of the dependent variables, we ran regressions that tested all of the factors mentioned. Each new variable is added to the control equations given in Tables 2.3 and 2.4. We eliminated all variables that do not improve the predictive value of the equation, or have a negligible beta weight. By this process, we chose the best equation for each dependent variable. The criterion is the same as that used previously: the best equation is one which maximizes the percentage of variance explained and minimizes the standard error of estimate. In each case, we reported beta weights only for those variables that comprised the best final equation. Betas that were left unreported were so small that they did not improve the predictive value of the equation to any noticeable degree. The added variables are reported in Tables 2.5 and 2.6.

The hypothesis supported in Tables 2.3 and 2.4 is that teacher prejudice is explained to a great extent by background characteristics, while attitudes and behavior specific to school are less a result of these things. Conversely, we expect that these other principal, school, and community variables will have more impact on school-related variables than on teacher prejudice. This is confirmed by the "additional r squares" in Tables 2.5 and 2.6. Each r^2 in these tables is the percentage of additional variance explained by the variables in that table; the variance explained by background variables is not included.

This pattern is particularly strong in high schools. Only four school, community, and principal variables enter the equation of teacher prejudice with betas of .10 or better, and collectively they explain an additional 9 per cent of the variance. This compares to 15 per cent for school-related prejudice, and to 23 per cent for black student report of teacher behavior.

TABLE 2.5

REGRESSION OF PRINCIPAL, SCHOOL, AND COMMUNITY VARIABLES ON SIX MEASURES OF TEACHER ATTITUDES

(Tenth Grade)

Variable	Teacher Prejudice Scale		School-Related Prejudice Scale		Per Cent Teachers Feel White Teachers Like Integration		Teachers Feel Integration Is Working Well		Per Cent Black Students Feel Staff Likes Integration		Per Cent White Students Feel Staff Likes Integration	
	r	B	r	B	r	B	r	B	r	B	r	B
Principal's race (1 = white; 2 = black) . .	+.36	+.15	+.35	+.17	+.29	+.20	+.20	+.23	+.41	+.33	+.31	+.33
Racial attitudes of principal (+ = pro-integration)	+.36	+.23	+.39	+.16			+.13	+.08	+.37	+.28	+.40	+.17
Principal dislikes integration			-.27	-.11	-.37	-.23					-.31	-.10
Principal talked to teachers re: integration			+.30	+.11					+.22	+.15		
Years white schools integrated	+.02	+.15					+.21	+.1				
Per cent teachers no experience with minority groups .					-.08	-.08	-.30	-.27			-.11	-.14
Per cent white students in school							-.05	+.16			-.09	+.23
Civil rights activity			+.35	+.16	+.29	+.12	+.12	+.11				
Active district biracial committee (+ = less active) .	+.18	-.13										
Liberal racial programs					+.24	+.09						
White students feel school biracial committee effective					+.12	+.12	+.27	+.22				
Teacher prejudice scale (PREJUT) (+ = low prejudice)	Not entered		Not entered		+.42	+.23	Negligible		Negligible		+.43	+.25
Additional r^2 (excluding teacher prejudice scale)	.09		.15		.21		.20		.23		.20	

TABLE 2.6

REGRESSION OF PRINCIPAL, SCHOOL, AND COMMUNITY VARIABLES ON DESIGNATED MEASURES OF TEACHER ATTITUDES
(Fifth Grade)

Variable	Teacher Prejudice Scale		School-Related Prejudice		Teachers Feel Integration Is Working Well		Per Cent Black Students Feel Staff Likes Integration		Per Cent White Students Feel Staff Likes Integration		Per Cent Black Students Feel Teachers Like Integration		Per Cent White Students Feel Teachers Like Integration	
	r	B	r	B	r	B	r	B	r	B	r	B	r	B
Principal's Prejudice Scale	+.26	+.11	+.31	+.19	+.14	+.16	+.22	+.09	+.25	+.13			+.18	+.10
Principal's race; 1 = white, 2 = black	+.42	+.19	+.35	+.14			+.27	+.49	+.24	+.11	+.17	+.05		
Principal says busing has no particular effect on his school							-.11	-.15	-.11	-.10	+.06	+.08	-.09	-.08
Principal feels he can't do much to affect school					-.17	-.13								
Per cent white students in school							-.25	-.17			-.21	-.18		
Prior racial composition of school, 1 = white, 2 = black	+.18	+.11	+.16	+.09	+.16	+.13					-.02	-.07		
Per cent of teachers with no experience with minority students . . .					-.11	-.18			-.16	-.44	+.02	-.05	-.31	-.68
Civil Rights Activity Scale (+ = more activity)	-.19	-.13	-.18	-.10	+.17	+.14					-.11	-.10		
School biracial committee (+ = less activity) . . .									-.05	-.07			-.08	-.14
Activeness of district biracial committee (+ = less active)	-.15	-.18	-.09	-.07										
Teacher prejudice Scale (+ = low prejudice) . . .	Not entered		Not entered		Negligible $r^2 = .001$		Negligible $r^2 = .001$		+.28 $r^2 = .02$	+.18	+.16 $r^2 = .001$	+.08	+.23 $r^2 = .03$	+.21
Additional r^2 excluding Teacher Prejudice Scale.	+.07		+.12		+.10		+.10		+.11		+.05		+.19	

For example, having a black principal, or a principal who acts to influence the racial behavior of the teachers, has some relationship to the teacher's level of prejudice, but a noticeably stronger relationship to the way black students perceive teacher attitudes.

Prejudice as a Control Variable in Predicting Behavior--Tenth Grade

We can argue that these school, community, and principal factors have an impact on school-related variables only because we have not controlled on actual teacher prejudice. It is perfectly reasonable to argue that student perceptions of teacher prejudice are not so much the result of background factors, but that they follow directly from the actual level of teacher prejudice. Therefore, we use teacher prejudice as an independent variable to explain teacher behavior. Teacher prejudice is entered in the last four equations in the table simultaneously with other school and community variables. We can compare the betas to see the relative importance of prejudice and of other school factors in influencing teacher behavior. The most striking result is with tenth grade black student perceptions of staff attitudes. When teacher prejudice is added to the regression equation, the beta is negligible. In this case, it is completely eclipsed by the effect of the principal. When we control for principal's race, racial attitude, and behavior, there is no relationship between the mean prejudice level of teachers and the percentage of blacks who say that their school staff supports integration.

Teacher prejudice has no impact when it is entered in the equation on teacher's evaluation of desegregation. Personal prejudice is not related to how well teachers feel integration is progressing in their school.

Teacher prejudice does have a significant impact on the percentage of teachers who feel that the other white teachers favor integration and on the percentage of white students who feel that their staff favors integration; both of these sets of perceptions are related to actual teacher prejudice. However, teacher prejudice does not eclipse the effect of other variables, as the equations show that school, community, and principal variables still have an effect. Teacher prejudice, then, either has no effect itself or fails to cancel out the effects of other variables. Thus, we have assembled persuasive evidence for the main hypothesis of this paper: there are community, school, and principal factors that influence, not the actual personal prejudice of the teacher, but the way in which the teacher's level of prejudice is converted into behavior, and the way in which that behavior is perceived.

The Effect of School and Community Factors--
The High School

Let us now reexamine Table 2.5 to see which variables are having the most influence on school-related teacher attitudes and behavior. The strongest variables in these equations are those that involve the principal. Principal's race enters all six equations. If the principal is black, teachers are less prejudiced. (Since, in at least some cases, the principal is free to choose his staff, this may reflect recruitment strategy rather than influence.) Teachers are also perceived as less prejudiced both by other teachers and by students. In addition, when the principal is black, teachers are more positive in their evaluation of desegregation. The principal's racial attitudes enter all six equations either as a scale of principal prejudice items, or as a single item measuring the principal's response to desegregation. Both of these variables enter the equation for white students' perception of staff. In general, the more racially liberal the principal, the more liberal are the teachers, and the more favorable the student's perception of them.

An additional principal variable, indicating that he has spoken to the faculty about racial issues, is an important predictor of black student perceptions of the staff. Principal's race, racial liberalism, and willingness to talk with the teachers in the school are the three largest predictors of black student perceptions of staff attitudes. Together, the three principal variables explain 23 per cent of the variance.

The length of time that a school district has been integrated has a positive effect on teacher prejudice, as well as on the teachers' evaluation of desegregation.[3]

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[3] A related variable, per cent of teachers reporting they have never taught students of the opposite race, has badly skewed marginals, and hence should not be interpreted.

The racial composition of the school is a good predictor of white student perceptions and teacher's evaluation of desegregation. The greater the percentage of whites in the school, the more whites feel that the staff supports integration, and the better the teacher's evaluation of desegregation. Both teachers and white students feel more relaxed about integration when they are in the majority.

The last set of variables that affect teacher behavior deals with civil rights activities and human relations programs in both the school and the community. The level of civil rights activity in the local community is measured with a two item scale. It has a positive effect on three dependent variables: (1) school-related teacher prejudice, (2) teacher's evaluation of the attitudes of other teachers, and (3) teacher's evaluation of desegregation. High school teachers appear to react to pressure from the black community.

We had community leaders evaluate the effectiveness of local biracial committees. Their responses were coded in such a way that a higher score indicates a less active committee. Therefore, the negative beta with teacher prejudice means that if the committee is rated as active, teachers have a more liberal mean prejudice score. This only entered one equation--teachers were less prejudiced in communities with a more active biracial committee.

We created a scale of the number of human relations programs in the school. It is a good predictor of teacher's evaluation of other teachers. The students were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of their school's biracial student committee (if one existed). White students' saying that the biracial committee is effective turns out to be a good predictor of teachers' saying that the white teachers are pro-integration, and of teachers' giving a positive report on the desegregation process in their school.

The pattern of r^2 gains is quite impressive in the tenth grade. Teacher prejudice is primarily the result of background variables beyond the control of the school; teacher behavior is influenced more by school and community factors.

Predictors of Teacher Behavior--Fifth Grade

The first part of this hypothesis is as strong in elementary schools as it is in high schools. Table 2.4 shows that teacher attitudes are largely determined by background variables, while measures of teacher behavior are not influenced by them at all. The problem arises when we try to see what factors do explain teacher behavior. Adding school and community variables to the equations does not increase the r^2 value to a large degree for most of the dependent variables. It appears that we have not yet found those factors that influence the behavior ef elementary school teachers, or that their behavior is more random.

It is not the case that attitudes and behavior are more closely linked for fifth grade teachers. To make this more explicit, we have calculated not only the betas for teacher prejudice (where it is used as an independent variable), but also the unique percentage of variance it explains. For black perception of staff attitudes, it explains .1 per cent of the variance. The relationship is stronger for whites, but teacher prejudice is still not more important than other school and community factors. With white students who say that their teacher supports integration, prejudice explains 3 per cent of the variance, while four other school and community factors explain 19 per cent. For the white students' evaluation of the total staff, teacher prejudice explains 2 per cent of the variance, while five other school and community factors explain 11 per cent.

Teacher behavior in elementary schools is no more linked to their prejudice than it is in high schools. The problem in elementary schools is that, in general, we can predict teacher behavior less well. This, we suspect, has most to do with the reliability of reports. In elementary schools, we have no teacher reports of other teachers; we have only the reports of 11-year-old students on the behavior of their teachers. We are able to explain the least per cent of the variance in the report of black children. It seems quite difficult for a black child of that age to cope with racial hostility very well, let alone to determine whether the teacher is prejudiced. By high school, students are in a much better position to make those judgments. This is supported by the fact that approximately 68 per cent of both white and black elementary school children say that their staff supports integration. Only about 48 per cent of high school students are willing to say this.

We could say from the data itself that the behavior of elementary school teachers is less influenced by school and community factors than is the behavior of high school teachers, but it makes more sense to say that, here, our reports of teacher behavior are less reliable. The safest way to interpret the fifth grade results is to look for the ways in which they are consistent with what we found for high schools.

In high schools, we find that principals are extremely important in changing both the attitudes and behavior of teachers, and are particularly important to the way blacks perceive their teachers. The same is true for elementary schools. In the fifth grade analysis, we use different measures of the principal's racial attitudes. We created a "superscale" of principal prejudice which includes several of the measures that were used separately for high schools. The items in the scale are listed in an appendix to this paper. In addition, we asked if the principal sees any effects on his school as a result of busing.

At least two out of the four principal variables are good predictors of all seven dependent variables. If the principal is black and/or liberal, then teacher attitudes are more liberal, they are reported to be more liberal by students, and the teachers give a more favorable report on the progress of school desegregation.

We also found that, in high schools, experience with integration is a positive force. The impact of teacher experience with blacks is also large at the elementary school level. The greater the percentage of teachers who have never worked with blacks, the worse is the teacher's evaluation of desegregation, and the fewer the black students who see the staff as pro-integration. The relationship is even stronger for whites. The beta between the percentage of white students who rate their teacher as being in favor of integration and the percentage of teachers with no experience with blacks is -.68.

Black and White Reports of Teacher Behavior

For the most part, the factors that influence students' reports of their teacher's racial attitudes are quite similar for blacks and whites. The most noticeable difference in both grade levels is that actual teacher prejudice influences whites more than it does blacks. The most striking evidence in Tables 2.5 and 2.6 is that white students are more sensitive to the teacher's true attitudes about race.[4] On the other hand, black students may be more sensitive to the actual behavior of teachers and principals. If the principal sets a tone of fairness and tolerance for the school, and teachers in general conform to these standards, blacks will feel that the teachers are liberal.

Conclusion

Racial prejudice in teachers is largely the result of factors such as race, age, sex, education, and geography. In both high schools and elementary schools, we explain 40 per cent of the variance in teacher prejudice with background variables alone. Other school and community factors do not add significantly to the predictive value of our equations. Schools are not likely to be successful in changing ingrained feelings of racial prejudice.

The way that teachers behave in an integrated school is something quite different. We find that teacher behavior is not determined by background factors and that other characteristics of the school are more influential in determining how they act than are their own attitudes about blacks. The effect of school and community variables on both teacher and pupil reports of teacher's racial behavior indicate that such behavior can be changed.

The strongest finding for both grade levels is the importance of the principal. Whether by example, direct action, or as a tone-setter for the school, the principal has a very important effect. Martha Turnage, in a recent work, argues that the principal is the primary agent of social change in a desegregated school.[5] Our data strongly support her contention. Our analysis says that a black and/or racially liberal principal who takes an active role in the school has a large influence on the way teachers respond to desegregation. In high school, we find that the principal is the important factor in the degree of support black students feel from the staff. This may simply be caused by the fact that school districts that have and keep black or liberal white principals are already more liberal. If, however, this is not a result of self-selection, this paper points up the danger in the tendency of Southern school districts to fire or demote black principals as part of the school desegregation process.

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[4] A note of caution: As we noted earlier, white student perceptions are influenced by the student's own attitudes.

Finally, at least in high schools, teachers tend to respond positively to pressure exerted in their community by local civil rights groups and biracial committees. In all, the results of the analysis should be quite encouraging to policy makers interested in racial integration in Southern schools.

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[5] The Principal: Change-Agent in Desegregation (Chicago: Integrated Education Association, 1972).

APPENDIX

Fifth Grade Principal Prejudice Scale

The fifth grade principal prejudice scale is composed of the following:

1. Whether he agreed or disagreed with the following statements:
    - a. "The amount of prejudice against minority groups in this country is greatly exaggerated."
    - b. "You would like to live in an integrated neighborhood."
    - c. "The civil rights movement has done more good than harm."
    - d. "Blacks and whites should not be allowed to intermarry."
2. His responses to the following questions:
    - a. Which accounts most for the Negro's failure to achieve equality? A lack of initiative and drive, or the restrictions imposed by a white society?
    - b. Are white students better off in all-white schools or racially mixed schools?
    - c. Are black students better off in all-black schools or racially mixed schools?
    - d To what degree do you like or dislike desegregation?

Fifth Grade Civil Rights Activity Scale

The fifth grade civil rights activity scale is composed of the following:

1. Civil rights leaders' responses to the following questions:
    a. How much civil rights activity has there been in your city in the past decade and how much trouble, if any, results?
    b. How good a job is the school system doing in educating white and black children?
    c. How pleased do you think the black community is with the schools?
    d. How much protest has there been about school busing?
    e. How much resistance to desegregation has there been by the school district, the local political leaders, the white business leaders, and how much organized white opposition?
2. The School district director's (superintendent's) answers to:
    a. Has there ever been a boycott in this district because of desegregation?
    b. Are there any segregated private schools in the community?
    c. Has there been any effort made to defeat the superintendent or school board in an election since desegregation of schools?

Correlation of Items in Civil Rights Activities Scale

(Controlling for Per Cent Urban and Dollars Spent Per Pupil)

	Civil Rights Activity	Educational Quality of Schools	Black Community Feelings	Busing Resistance	Total Resistance to Desegregation	Opposition to Desegregation
Civil rights activity	--	.15	.25	-.17	-.43	-.32
Educational quality of schools		--	.39	-.35	-.33	-.08
Black community feelings			--	-.45	-.29	-.22
Busing resistance				--	.29	.12
Total resistance to desegregation					--	.31
Opposition to desegregation						--

WORKING PAPER 3

HOW LARGE IS THE EFFECT OF SCHOOL ON ACHIEVEMENT TEST PERFORMANCE?

by

Robert L. Crain

Introduction

The debate over the importance of the quality of education in determining school achievement continues to the present day. A number of social scientists have argued that improving the school will have only a negligible effect upon the achievement scores of the students in it. We find in our analysis that school quality does make a difference in achievement, although whether such a difference should be interpreted as substantial or negligible is a matter of interpretation and of values. Since the issue is of considerable interest, we will discuss the findings of our analysis in some detail.

When, during the analysis of ESAP, we asked ourselves whether the effects of school quality as we observed them seemed large or small, we realized that "large" and "small" were relative terms, and that our reaction to the data depended a great deal upon the way in which the data were presented. This paper, therefore, is not so much a statistical analysis of new data (our data, and our analysis methods, add little to what has already been done with the data of the Coleman report[1]), as it is an experiment in graphic methods of presenting data.

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[1] James S. Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), Chapter 3.

The conventional judgment rendered about the Coleman report may be summarized as follows:

1. Student family characteristics--particularly family socioeconomic status--exerts an overwhelming influence on student test performance.

2. If school has an effect on the student, it is mainly through the socioeconomic status of the student's classmates; the student in a middle-class school will perform better than he would if he were in a working-class school.

3. School characteristics that can be influenced by policy decisions (ranging from racial composition to compensatory programs to per-pupil expenditures) have negligible impact. Either there are no differences in quality of education between schools or else these differences are irrelevant.

We shall look at each of these three statements in turn, with different methods of data presentation. We will attempt to determine how strong these relationships are, or more precisely, how strong they appear to be when we examine them.

The Impact of Socioeconomic Status--Looking at Tenth Grade Black Students with a Scatterplot

In Chapter 3, we reported that 41 per cent of the variance in high school black achievement means could be explained by non-school factors, primarily by the socioeconomic status of the black students themselves. This variance exceeded the variance which could be uniquely assigned to any of the school quality measures. In this sense our results are quite consistent with Coleman's. But we are not saying that socioeconomic status explains achievement. The issue is how large is 41 per cent of the variance.

When we constructed our best index of mean black socioeconomic status, using the percentage of students reporting that their mother was a high school graduate, that their family got a daily newspaper, and that they lived with both their parents, along with their mean number of siblings and the percentage of the residents in their county who lived in urban areas, we found that this composite index of black student social

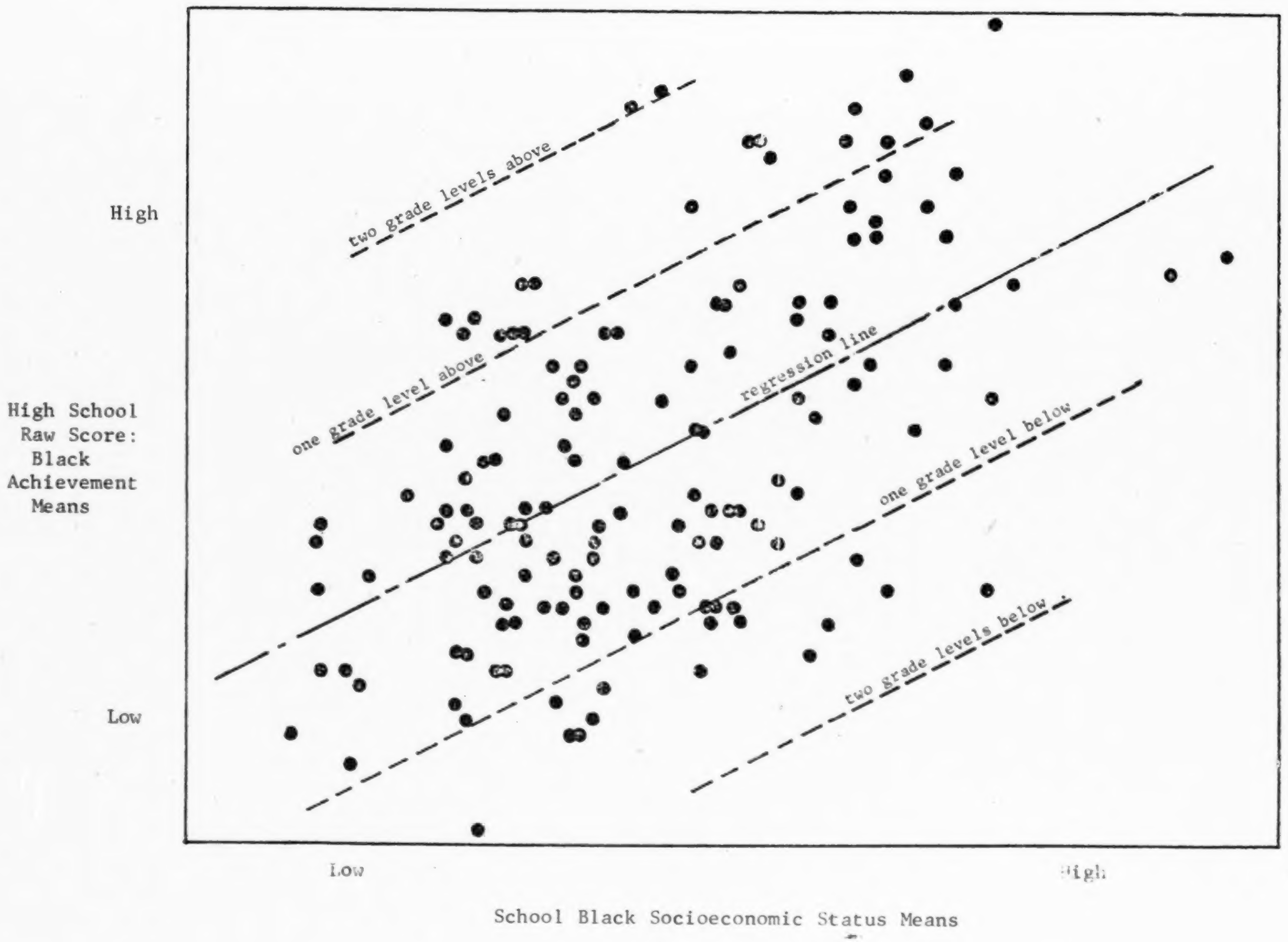

Fig. 3.1--A Plot of Social Status and Achievement for Black High School Students

background has a correlation of .55 with the mean black achievement score, explaining 30 per cent of the variance. Note that this is the combined effect of two different factors: the direct link of the individual student's background to his achievement, and the indirect link resulting from the fact that each student's performance may be affected by the socioeconomic background of the other black students in the school. For the sake of conservatism, the combined effect of both the direct and indirect links will be used as our measure of the effect of family background. The correlation we obtained is similar to that found by Coleman.

In Figure 3.1, we present a scatterplot of this correlation between the mean family social status and the mean achievement of black students for each of the 145 high schools where seven or more black students were tested. The horizontal axis is our composite social status score, increasing from left to right. The vertical axis is mean black achievement converted to approximate grade level units.[2] The regression line of background on achievement is shown by a long-short dashed line (— - —) going from the lower left to the upper right. This line is banded above and below by four dashed lines (— —) representing school achievement of one and two grade levels above and below expectation (although we can assume that some of the very high and very low achievement scores shown in the graph are the result of sampling error when only 8 to 12 students were tested in predominantly white schools[3]).

Looking at the graph, we see that social status does make a big difference. The low status schools on the left of the graph usually have low achievement, and the very best of the low status schools have test scores that are not up to the level of the schools with high status students.

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[2] The achievement test data for the Coleman report was analyzed to compare sixth grade to ninth grade, and ninth grade to twelfth grade performance. That report showed one individual level standard deviation (11 correct answers on our test) was almost exactly equal to three grade levels; the same equality was used here.

[3] But most of the extreme scores are not sampling error. Even with only 7 students in a score, sampling error would result in only 5 per cent of the schools lying more than 1.4 grade levels above or below the regression line. Other schools, of course, had samples of up to 50 black students.

But we also see that "sociology is not destiny." Twenty of the 145 schools are one grade level above expectation; two of these are two grade levels above expectation. Both of these schools are near the middle in student family background; of the 70 schools of higher status, only three have higher raw scores than these two. At the other extreme, 17 schools are one or more grade levels below expectation. When we read this plot, it is difficult to determine the importance of the number of times that an unusually low social status school has above average achievement or the number of times that a school of only average social background has outstanding achievement. Even if we did wish to pursue an explanation of the performance of these schools, we would be stymied by the fact that we have no idea what would explain these deviations. Furthermore, if we did succeed in explaining some of the deviation from Figure 3.1's regression line, would we have explained anything of great importance? We know too little about whether these achievement gains can be translated into better income, better citizenship, or more personal happiness when these students become adults.[4]

The Effect of the Socioeconomic Status of Other Students in the School--Analyzing Mean Scores with a Cross-Tabulation

The best known finding from the Coleman report is that the performance of each student is affected by the social status of his peers. This is a mysterious finding, since no convincing explanation of this effect has been presented. The issue is complicated by the disagreement over whether the effect is genuine or merely some sort of statistical artifact.

The question is in fact a simple one, and we have reanalyzed our data to measure the effect of the school's mean social status on the individual student. To do so, we present data--for the first time in this report--on individual students rather than on aggregate student bodies. The data is presented in a graph of individual achievement, plotted simultaneously against individual social background and school composite social background (Figure 3.2). To avoid raising any issue of the effects of racial integration, we present data only for the 1,840 white high school students who were in schools which were at least 75 per cent white.

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[4] This is the issue raised by Christopher Jencks et al., Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effects of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

Figure 3.2 presents the results of tabulating individual achievement scores simultaneously against student family background (also measured at the individual level) and the mean family background of all students (combining black and white students) in the school they attend, controlling on urbanism and region. Thus, the graph separates the effect of individual background (the direct effect) from the school mean background effect (the contextual effect). For example, the three lines labelled "low SES rural," "medium SES rural," and "high SES rural" refer to students living in rural areas in the border states. The lowest line shows that the average student from a low SES background who is in a school where the other students are also from predominantly low SES backgrounds can be expected to obtain 14.0 correct answers on the test; the student of similar background who attends a school where the other students are of medium or high SES can be expected to get 22.0 correct answers. The slope of the line indicates the effect of school social status; the gap between the lines shows the effect of individual status.

The strong relationships between social status, urbanism, and region make it difficult to trichotomize individual-level and school-level social status. There are few low and medium status students in urban border states, and they are almost all located in schools with high mean socioeconomic status, so that these two groups are lost from the analysis. Two other groups--Deep South, high status, rural students, and border, medium status, rural students--appear in sufficient numbers in low, medium, and high status schools to permit us to plot three points. The achievement of medium status students in rural border states is strongly correlated with school status; these students score only 19 when they are in low status schools, increase to 25 in middle status schools, and up to 27 in high status schools. The high status students in the Deep South do well in all three types of schools, and show only very weak effects of school social status on their achievement.

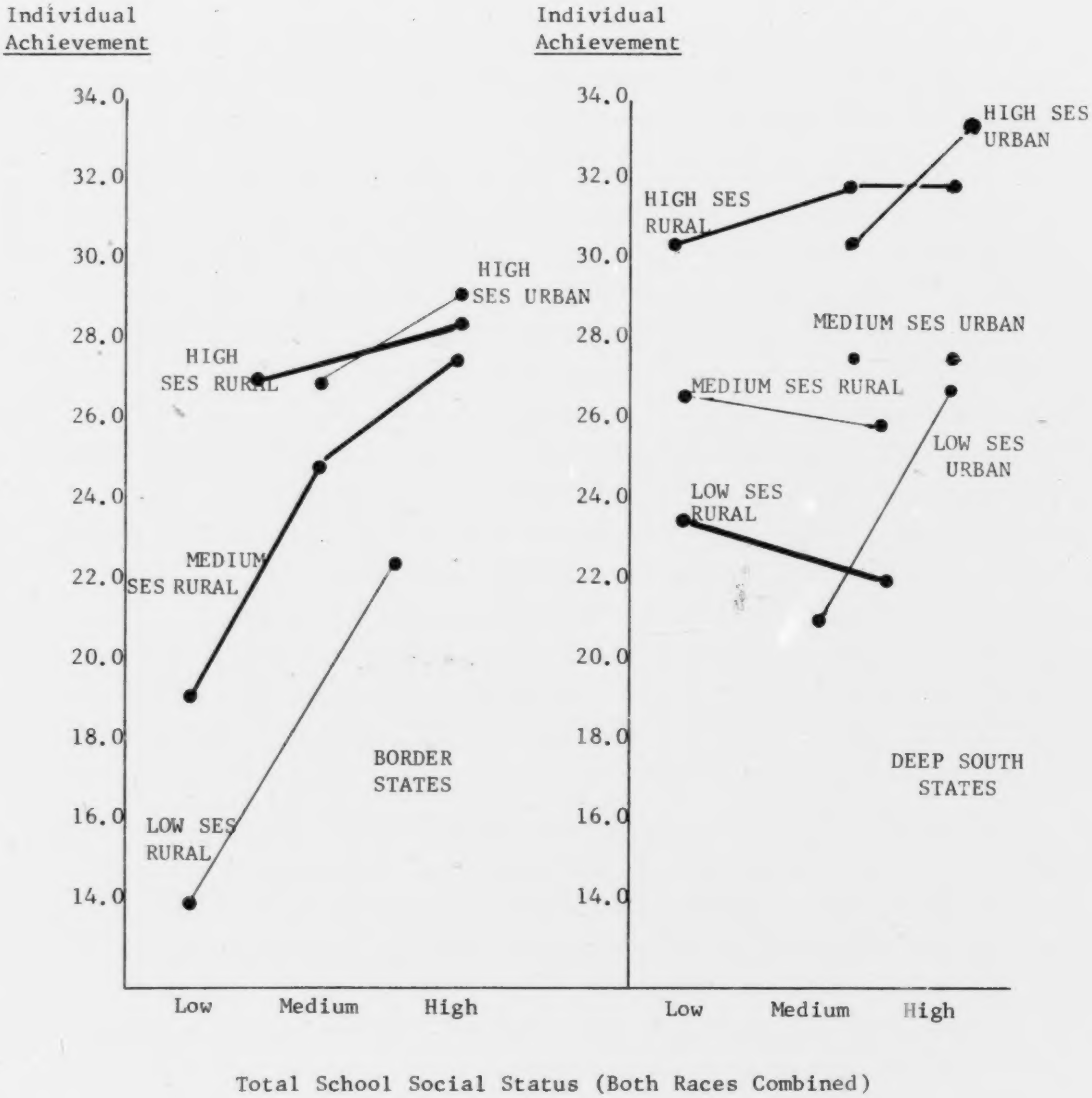

Fig. 3.2--The Impact of School Social Status on Tenth Grade White Students, in Schools Over 75 Per Cent White, by Region, Urbanism, and Individual Student Social Class

Fig. 3.2--Continued

Notes: N's for Figure 3.2:

School SES	Total	Border States Low	Border States Medium	Border States High	South Low	South Medium	South High
High SES	urban	-	24	389	-	41	209
	rural	18	68	60	70	81	22
Med SES	urban	-	7	132	-	26	67
	rural	20	48	27	21	68	16
Low SES	urban	-	6	86	-	27	33
	rural	43	40	18	49	76	4

Achievement test scores are number of questions answered correctly (corrected for guessing). All data points based on $n < 20$ were combined with the neighboring point (i.e., High SES Rural with Medium SES Rural) and plotted midway between the two categories. The five lines with the smallest standard error are shown in heavy lines on the figure. Medium and low SES urban border data are omitted because of small n's.

Overall effect of school SES:

The difference between the extreme points on each line, averaged over all 12 sets of data:

$$\text{mean gain} = \frac{\displaystyle\sum_{i=1}^{i=12} \frac{A_{Hi} - A_{Li}}{\sqrt{\frac{1}{n_{Hi}} + \frac{1}{n_{Li}}}}}{\displaystyle\sum_{i=1}^{i=12} \frac{1}{\sqrt{\frac{1}{n_{Hi}} + \frac{1}{n_{Li}}}}} = 2.06 \text{ points}$$

where A = achievement, n = number of cases, H = high mean SES, L = lowest.

In all there are 22 points plotted on the graph, and 12 lines connecting these points. How often do these lines slope upward from left to right, as Coleman would predict? The plot shows eight cases of gains as the social class composition of the school increases and four cases where there is no gain or a loss; three of the four are for Deep South rural students. On the whole, then, the graph shows that our data is consistent with Coleman's, with the exception of rural schools in the Deep South, for which we have no explanation.

To some extent, these effects are exaggerated, because we know that in some cases, our measurement of low status students in high status schools was in error; their status is in fact much higher than we measured it to be. Measurement error, however, cannot explain effects of this magnitude; in two cases the effect of changing school-level SES is larger than that of changing the student's own social status. The average gain in achievement due to school social status, controlling on individual social class, is 2.06 additional correct answers on the test, or about one-half grade level.

In conclusion, we see that the "middle-class school" is an effective one. Parents who talk about sending their children to good schools (meaning by "good," schools that are in middle-class neighborhoods) are perceptive and accurate in their evaluation of schools. Apparently, the famed high status suburban school is better, regardless of the teachers, facilities, or curriculum; the students themselves do the job.

There are several plausible explanations for this fact. The simplest is that students perform at the level they are expected to. If work is set at a particular level of difficulty, the slow students will work harder to achieve that standard; if the standard is lowered, the better students will do less work. There are other factors, however, which may explain things as well. For example, since high status students are less likely to be delinquent or badly behaved in the class, high status schools will be less likely to find their classrooms occupied by potentially rebellious students. One rebel in a middle status classroom can be effectively contained, while in a poorer classroom, three rebels cause more than three times as much disruption. A third factor is that students teach each other.

Obviously, if one asks a fellow student for help, one benefits more if the student who is asked knows the answer. In addition, student norms (about whether to do homework, about whether to read in one's spare time, about whether to go to college) are contagious. Finally, it has often been argued that the high status schools attract the best teachers and textbooks. These arguments, taken together, seem to provide persuasive explanations for the association between aggregate student background and individual achievement presented in Figure 3.2.

The Effect of the School--An Attempt to Interpret Measures of Variance

We have argued that a student's social status does not completely explain his achievement. A related but more difficult issue is this: can any noticeable fraction of a student's achievement be attributed to the quality of the school he attends? Again, we will find that our data is generally consistent with Coleman's, and the issue we raise here is less one of statistical technique, than of interpretation of results.

The first point made by commentators on the Coleman report is that little of the variance in individual achievement lies between schools. In simple English, this means that there is a considerably greater difference between the performance of any two students selected at random than there is between two schools selected at random. If, however, we were to argue that the main explanation for a student's performance lies in the quality of the school he attends, then it would follow that good schools would have a high percentage of high-performing students, while a few very bad schools would have a high percentage of low-performing students. If this were true, then the difference between the best and worst schools would be nearly as great as the difference between the best and worst students, and most of the variance in individual achievement would indeed lie between schools. For this argument, then, the extent to which school mean achievement scores differ is an upper limit of the size of the school's effect on achievement.

This conclusion is, we believe, overstated. The mere fact that most of the variance lies within schools does not mean that the school's effect is negligible. As Table 3.1 indicates, the amount of variance between schools on the achievement test is slightly less than one-fifth of the total variance. This is greater than the figure obtained by Coleman for Southern whites, and about the same as his estimate of the between-school variance for Southern blacks.

What does it mean to say that "only" one-fifth of the total variance in achievement lies between schools? Most writers have taken this to mean that most of the variance is outside the control of the school, and have concluded that there is little that the school can do to influence achievement. No doubt it is important that we recognize that the school is not all-powerful. We should know by now that no amount of improvement in the educational system will create impressive gains in tested achievement in large numbers of students. When we recognize this, we can become more realistic about what to expect from the schools and perhaps place our desire to reform the educational system into a healthier perspective. Recent writing by social scientists, however, has taken the extreme position of saying that significant improvements in tested achievement are impossible to accomplish, and therefore that educational reform is hopeless.[5] For this reason, we must examine very carefully what "20 per cent of the variance" means.

TABLE 3.1

THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL VARIANCES IN THE ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES THAT LIES BETWEEN SCHOOLS

[(Between-schools variance ÷ total variance) X 100]

Grade and Race	Variance Ratios (Per Cent)
Fifth grade black	18.0
Fifth grade white	16.2
Tenth grade black	19.5
Tenth grade white	20.5

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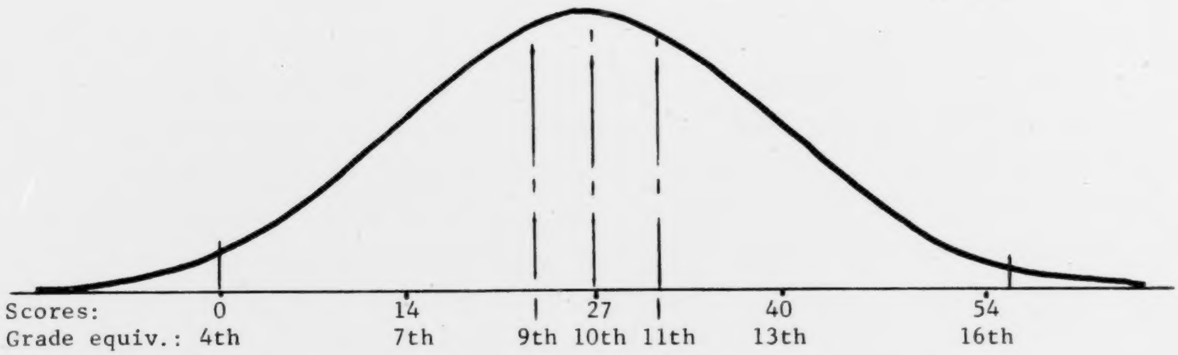
[5] At least that is our reading of Jencks, Inequality; the Editors' Introduction to F. W. Mosteller and D. P. Moynihan (eds.), On Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: Random House, 1972); and a host of popular magazine articles.

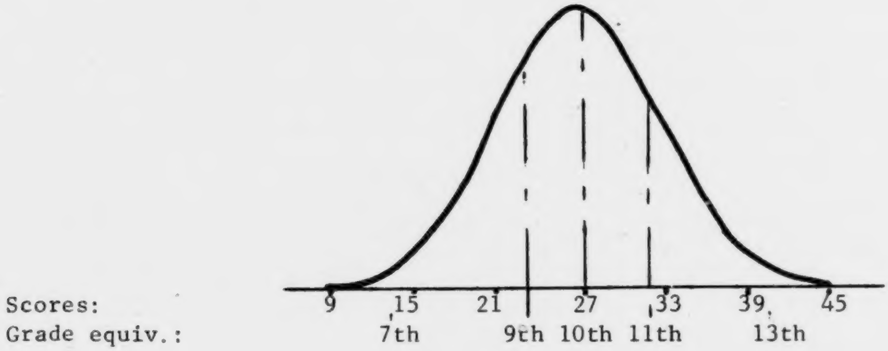
For this analysis, we will look only at the white high school students in the ESAP study. The tenth grade white students have a mean score of 26.9 correct answers (after correction for guessing) on the 57-item achievement test. The distribution of individual scores is normal, with a standard deviation of 13.4 correct answers (meaning that one-sixth of the students got fewer than 14 questions right, while another one-sixth got 40 or more of the 57 items correct). As noted earlier, we will use the analysis in the Coleman report to estimate that one standard deviation on this test will equal approximately three grade level equivalents. Thus we will estimate that a difference of 13.4/3 = 4.5 points corresponds to a difference of about one grade level. The total variance on the test, both within and between schools, is $(13.4)^2$ or 180 units. To say that 20 per cent of this total variance lies between schools is to say that if we look at school means, we should expect to find that the standard deviation of the distribution of school means is $\sqrt{.20 \times 180} = \sqrt{36} = 6.0$.

What is the difference between an individual standard deviation of 13.4 and a school mean standard deviation of 6.0? One answer is to look at graphs of the distributions, in the top and center drawing of Figure 3.3. The top figure shows the distribution of individual test scores, $\sigma = 13.4$. The center figure shows the distribution of school means. $\sigma = 6.0$. Examination of a standard table of the normal distribution shows that, if we assume normality, the best one-tenth of all high schools in the South should be 1.64 standard deviations above the mean on the average, while the worst one-tenth should be an equal distance below. This means that the two groups will be 3.28 standard deviations apart, or 3.28 x 6.0 = 20.4 points apart on our test. Converted to grade equivalents, this is a difference of approximately four and one-half grade levels. Consequently, the bottom tenth of the high schools in our sample have white students performing, on the average, at eighth grade level, while the top tenth have sophomores performing at the level of high school seniors. The same conclusion can be drawn by looking at the center graph in Figure 3.3, which shows some schools with means at grade 13, and others with means at grade 7. Stated this way, the differences between schools do not seem so small.



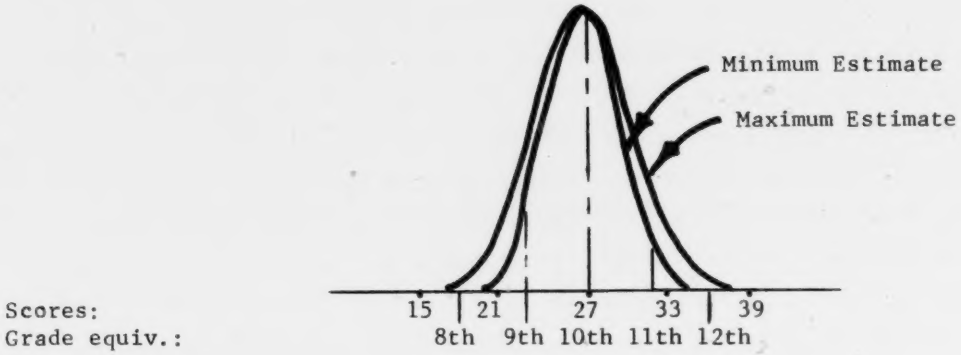
Distribution of Individual Test Scores

$\sigma = 13.4 \qquad \sigma^2 = 180$



Distribution of School Means

$\sigma = 6.0 \qquad \sigma^2 = 36$



Distribution of Two Estimates of School Effects

Maximum estimate: $\sigma = 3.4 \qquad \sigma^2 = 11$
Minimum estimate: $\sigma = 2.7 \qquad \sigma^2 = 7.2$

Fig. 3.3.--Graphic Display of Variation in Achievement (Tenth Grade White Students)

This is not to say that we have shown that the school is capable of producing effects of this magnitude. The students in the high-achieving schools will usually be from better family backgrounds than those in the low-achieving schools. But social class and achievement are not perfectly correlated; our correlation, at the individual level, between social status and achievement for tenth grade white students is only .26 (Coleman's, using a better SES scale and a longer achievement test, was .38). Obviously, social status is not the whole story. Furthermore, there is no system of perfect economic segregation that places the very highest SES students together, without error, into certain schools. (Twenty per cent of the individual variance in SES lies between schools.) If we work out the computations, we find that using either our data or Coleman's, we can conclude that only a small portion of the between-school variance in achievement is the direct effect of social class.[6]

Since individual social class alone is not the entire explanation for between-school differences in achievement, we must also consider the contextual effect of social class. We have already seen that social class has a sort of multiplier effect in schools. Thus, the high status student, already a high-achiever due to family background, benefits from economic segregation; he is more likely to be placed in a school where other students have higher social class and this means that the school pushes his achievement even higher. This phenomenon is reflected in our data in the fact that while the correlation between social class and achievement at the individual level is .26 for the white tenth graders, the correlation between white mean social class and white mean achievement at the school level is .59. This is depressing news for educators, for it suggests that while schools are making a difference, one of the most significant ways that they make that difference is through a factor out of the control of the school administrator. The school with uniformly high status students will find that the students tend to be overachievers, while the school with uniformly low status students will find that the average student tends to do worse than would be expected on the basis of his family background alone. This is a school effect, but one that can be combated only through economic desegregation. All of this brings no cheer to the person concerned with the possible effect of improvements in teaching, curriculum, and facilities.

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[6] If there were no measurement error and no correlation resulting from the contextual effects of school mean social status on individual achievement, social status would have the same correlation with achievement at the school level as it does at the individual level, explaining either 6 per cent ($.26^2$ from this study) or 14 per cent ($.38^2$ from Coleman) of the between-school variance. However, measurement error causes the correlations at the school level to be higher.

The remaining factor to determine is how much variance is unexplained after we allow for both individual and contextual social class effects on achievement. Since our social status scale has a correlation of .59 with achievement at the school level for whites, $.59^2$ or 35 per cent of the school-level variance in achievement is accounted for by student body social status. We can do a bit better than that if, instead of building a simple scale of the SES items, we use multiple regression to pick the best-fitting linear sum of the SES items. When we do this, we are able to generate a multiple correlation coefficient of .67 between school mean white social class and school mean white achievement, explaining $.67^2$ or 45 per cent of the variance.

Now let us see if we can estimate how much variance between schools might be attributed to differences in quality between schools. We can arrive at a maximum estimate by arguing that whatever we cannot explain with individual and contextual social status and sampling error is explainable by school quality--an obvious overstatement (for example, it assumes no measurement error in school status[7]). On the other hand, this assumption actually underestimates the effect of school quality in one way. By removing not only the direct but also the contextual effects of socioeconomic status, we are, in effect, saying that all the differences between middle-class and working-class schools are due to the differences between students; we are arguing that the quality of educational effort is the same in middle-class and working-class schools. If middle-class schools are superior in quality (as many people suspect), we are ignoring this difference in quality. Thus, we are overestimating the effect of quality by assigning all residual variance to it, but at the same time, we are underestimating the effect of quality by ignoring all differences in quality which are correlated with school social class (so perhaps the two false assumptions will cancel each other out).

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[7] School means do have less measurement error than do individual measurements.

For our maximum estimate, let us assume that quality of education can explain 30 per cent of the difference in achievement (the amount left after subtracting 45 per cent for school social class and 25 per cent for sampling error).[8] Thirty per cent of the between-school variance of 36 units (a unit being a squared test item) is 11 units; this means that if a set of schools were given identical students, the distribution of achievement scores would still vary, with a standard deviation of $\sqrt{11} = 3.4$ test points. This distribution, labeled "maximum estimate," is shown in the bottom drawing of Figure 3.3.

To obtain a minimum estimate, we computed a series of multiple regression equations using the school characteristics measured in our survey. We found that after social class and racial composition effects were removed, we could explain uniquely an additional 12 per cent of the variance with seven school characteristics.[9] This is a very conservative estimate, since it assumes that these seven variables comprehensively measure school quality. Furthermore, these variables do not include some of the teacher characteristics Coleman used, with which he was also able to explain 12 per cent of the between-school variance.[10]

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[8] If the effective mean sample size per school is 20, the sampling variability is one-twentieth of the individual level variance and (1/20)(5), or 25 per cent, of school-level variance.

[9] Three teacher attitude variables, three school activity variables (including number of audio-visual specialists), and student reports of the amount of homework.

[10] Equality of Educational Opportunity, p. 317, shows seven teacher variables explaining 2.49 per cent of the individual variance in achievement. This is 12 per cent of our estimated between-school variance (.0249/.20 = .12).

It seems reasonable to assume that more and better measures of school quality will increase the per cent of variance uniquely explained. In addition, we should probably allocate some of the variance shared by social status and school quality measures to school quality, rather than arbitrarily attributing it all to social class. It seems reasonable to assume that doing this would attribute at least 20 per cent of the between-school variance in achievement to school quality, which would mean that the between-school variance attributable to educational quality would be $.20 \times 36 = 7.2$, and that a collection of identical students sent to different schools would have achievement scores distributed with a standard deviation of $\sqrt{7.2} = 2.7$. This is the minimum estimate shown at the bottom of Figure 3.3.

The bottom drawing of Figure 3.3 is thus our answer to the question: "How much difference can a school make?" The answer is that a typical student in an unusually good school (one near the right tail of the distributions in the graph) will be achieving anywhere from one (the minimum estimate) to one and one-half (the maximum estimate) grade levels above the norm (i.e., the overall individual-level mean for Southern schools); the same student in an unusually bad school would fall one to one and one-half grade levels below the norm. Thus, the difference between our best and worst high schools is a difference of two to three grade levels. To put it another way, if we brought all our Southern high schools up to the level of the best Southern schools--pushed them all up to what is now the upper tail of either the minimum or maximum estimate in the bottom of Figure 3.3--we would raise the regional norm for white tenth graders by one to one and one-half grade levels.[11]

To return to our original question--what per cent of the variance in individual achievement is represented by this residual school-level variation, which we argue is the maximum which can be achieved by variations in school quality?--the answer is that 11 units (the variance of the maximum estimate in Figure 3.3) divided by 180 units (the variance of the individual distribution in the top drawing) is 6 per cent of the total variance in achievement. Using the minimum estimate, we get 7.2/180 = 4 per cent. In other words, only 4 to 6 per cent of the variance in individual achievement can be explained by school quality. We have seen that the problem of how much differentiation there is among schools can be made to look large or small, depending upon the kinds of statistics that are used and the way in which common sense interprets those statistics.

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[11] For the reader who would prefer some other unit of measurement to grade equivalents, this is (crudely) a gain of 30 to 60 points on the Scholastic Aptitude Test or 5 to 10 points on an IQ scale. The SAT is standardized to a standard deviation of 100, IQ to a standard deviation of 15.

Indeed, this is the main point of this exercise. If we say that school quality can explain no more than 4 to 6 per cent of individual achievement, how can we help but conclude that this is a miniscule effect? But if we call the same difference a difference of two to three grade levels, or possible gains for the entire South of one to one and one-half grades, the same differences look more impressive. Furthermore, if we accept for a moment that 4 to 6 per cent of the individual variance is the total effect of school quality, then some of Coleman's results change sharply in interpretation. For example, his finding that 2.5 per cent of the variance in achievement can be explained uniquely by teacher quality implies that about half of the variance attributable to school quality can be explained by teacher effects.

Finally, we should point out that the maximum effect attributable to school quality is based on the existing distribution of school test scores. In saying that by bringing the average Southern school up to the quality of the best Southern school, we can raise test scores only one to one and one-half grades, we say nothing about what could be accomplished by a school superior to any existing Southern school. Any variance analysis can only tell us about the variability that exists in the environment right now, not about what is possible.

APPENDIX

Using White and Black and Male and Female Test Means to Estimate the Size of the School Effect

Another approach to the measurement of school effects is to examine the correlation between black and white achievement. The black and white students in a school are drawn from two segregated communities. They are similar only to the extent that they are equally urban, or from the same region, and their test scores should resemble each other only to the extent that region or urbanism predicts social background, which in turn predicts achievement. There is no particular reason to believe that the black students and white students in a school will be similar in academic ability.

We find, however, that in high school, the correlation between black and white achievement is .45--much higher than the correlation we would predict on the basis of the black and white social class measures.[1] This suggests that black and white performance has a common cause, in addition to the similarity of the backgrounds of the students: namely, the quality of education or a "school effect." If we assume the residual white achievement that cannot be explained by student social status is the result of the quality of education in the school, then we can use this to predict black achievement.

We find that controlling on black and white social class, the partial correlation between white and black achievement is .26. This is a conservative estimate of the effect of the school, in part because of sampling error in the test means, but also because schools can bias their performance in favor of one racial group; a school that is good for whites may be bad for blacks. There is some support for this hypothesis in the fact that schools show a slight tendency toward sex bias: black male students' scores are more highly correlated with white male students' scores than they are with white female students' scores, and the situation is analogous for black females. Or, as Table A shows, the partial correlation of achievement scores of same-sex students of different races is larger than the correlation for opposite-sex students. But this means there are certain kinds of schools where female students, both black and white, do well compared to male students, and others where they do poorly compared to males. The effects are small, but they would seem to reflect a bias; and if a bias in favor of one sex can be observed, we would expect the bias in favor of one or the other race to be at least equally possible.

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[1] If black and white achievement correlated only because black and white social class were correlated, the correlation would be the product of $(r_{\text{black SES x white SES}})(r_{\text{black SES x black Ach}})(r_{\text{white SES x white Ach}})$. Since the correlation between white and black social class is .38, and the two correlations between SES and achievement both are about .6, the predicted correlation between white and black achievement would be (.38) (.6)(.6) = .14.

TABLE A

PARTIAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE HIGH SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT WITHIN EACH SEX

Correlation	Controlling on:	Partial r
Achievement, black males x white males	Achievement, white females Achievement, black females	.14
Achievement, black males x white females	Achievement, white males Achievement, black females	.06
Achievement, black females x white males	Achievement, white females Achievement, black males	.12
Achievement, black females x white females	Achievement, white males Achievement, black males	.19

WORKING PAPER 4

THE EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION ON ACHIEVEMENT

by

Ruth E. Narot

Introduction

In granting money to Southern school districts, the authors of ESAP assumed that there are improvements that can be made to facilitate the process of school desegregation. This presupposes that there are good and bad ways in which to integrate a school. This fact seems quite simple, and yet most attempts to analyze the effects of integration ignore it.

A change in racial composition is not a type of magic that either works or doesn't work regardless of the circumstances. School desegregation is a process that benefits students under some conditions and not under others. If integration does improve achievement, it does so by changing a child's experience in school. The change may be in the quality of relationships with students of the opposite race, or in the fact that a student in an integrated school is confronted with a new set of academic standards and is pulled along to meet these standards, or the change may be the result of being treated differently by staff.

If peer group relations are important, we may find that integration improves black achievement when whites are open and friendly, but has a negative effect when white students are hostile. In this particular case, we cannot simply look at the effect of racial composition on achievement, but must look at the combined effect of racial composition and white racial attitudes.

We have used dummy variable regression for each of the four race and age groups to determine the effects of the percentage of white students. This technique does not assume that the percentage of whites has a linear effect on achievement; rather, it gives us the mean achievement score for schools within a certain range of the percentage of white students. In our analysis, we have divided the schools into three groups: those with less than 40 per cent white, 40 to 70 per cent white, and over 70 per cent white.

This is the simplest relationship between racial composition and achievement. If we then control for the social class of the students involved, the basic relationship between racial composition and achievement will change considerably. If we further complicate the model by adding other school characteristics to the equation, we see that the effect of the percentage of white students has different effects depending upon its interaction with these other school variables. With this method, we can begin to understand the process of school desegregation and to sort out the conditions under which integration will either raise or lower achievement. The analysis will be described in detail when we examine data for our first group of students--black fifth graders.

Fifth Grade Blacks

Taking the simple uncontrolled relationship between the percentage of white students and achievement, it appears that integration causes a slight increase in black achievement (Table 4.1). The number in each cell of Table 4.1 is the mean achievement score for that group of schools. By comparing the numbers in the three categories, we see that achievement rises in schools with a larger number of white students. For schools that are 0 to 40 per cent white, the mean black achievement score is 163; for schools that are 41 to 70 per cent or greater than 70 per cent white, the mean achievement score is 175. The r^2 of .01 is the percentage of the between-school variance in achievement explained by the percentage of white students.

TABLE 4.1

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION ON ACHIEVEMENT
FOR FIFTH GRADE BLACK STUDENTS

(Mean Achievement)

Per Cent White of School		
0-40	41-70	71-100
163 (81)	174 (107)	166 (80)

Notes: Number of schools in cell shown in parentheses.

r^2 added by per cent white = .01

Standard deviation, achievement = 53.

In the next set of equations, we enter the dummy variables after a series of control variables that take out the effect of social class and geography (listed in the appendix to this paper). When controls are used, the resulting table is no longer a simple report of actual means, but a report of the means that would appear if the schools of different racial composition had students of identical social backgrounds. For this reason, they are referred to as "predicted means." The top line of Table 4.2 shows that when we control for social class, the overall effect of percentage of whites is negative. In predominantly white schools, the mean predicted achievement is 11 points lower than for the other two categories. There is, however, no difference in predicted achievement between schools that are 0-40 per cent white and those that are between 41 and 70 per cent white.

This change between Tables 4.1 and 4.2 suggests that black students in predominantly white schools tend to be from a higher social class and thus have higher achievement scores. When we control for this effect, going to a predominantly white school has a negative effect on black achievement.

TABLE 4.2

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR ALL FIFTH GRADE BLACK STUDENTS, AND FOR EACH SEX SEPARATELY, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

Student Group	Per Cent White of School			r^2 Added by Per Cent White
	0-40	41-70	71-100	
All blacks . . .	173	174	164	.01
Males only. . .	166	162	144	.02
Females only. . .	186	188	186	.001
Number of schools. . .	65	107	76	

The relationship is not the same for males and females, however, as is shown by the second and third lines of Table 4.2. Going to a predominantly white school is particularly bad for males: the predicted achievement score for males in mostly black schools is 166, compared to 144 in predominantly white schools. The percentage of white students explains 2 per cent of the variance in black male achievement. Going to school with whites has a strong negative effect on black male achievement. The picture for females (the third line of Table 4.2) is completely different. First, the percentage of white students has less of an effect, with an r^2 of only .001. Second, there is no negative effect of attending a predominantly white school; the three means are virtually identical. This sex difference will continue to appear throughout the analysis. Female students of both races fare better than do their male peers when their race is the minority.

Next, we introduced a series of other variables into the analysis. Each variable was added to the regression equation containing the controls and racial composition. The variables tested for white students in elementary schools were as follows: per cent of whites for whom this school was the nearest to their home, white socioeconomic status, mean number of years white students have been in desegregated schools, the per cent of whites who said they were happy and who said they felt they "belonged" in their school, and the per cent of whites riding buses to school.

The corresponding black student items were used in the black analysis (except for the last item, per cent riding buses). In addition, for black elementary school students, we examined the effects of the level of community civil rights activity, the black student perception of staff attitudes about integration, and the white students' mean score on the attitude toward integration scale.

For tenth grade white students, we examined the effect of opposite-race socioeconomic status, white student reports of racial contact, level of racial tension, and perception of desegregation problems (three variables), the per cent of white students traveling to school by bus, and the per cent of white students who attended desegregated elementary and junior high schools.

For the analysis of tenth grade black achievement, we analyzed variables for blacks parallel to those for whites and added ten other variables: white attitudes toward integration, black participation in sports and clubs (for males and females separately and for both sexes combined), black perception of staff attitudes toward integration, black reports on happiness and sense of "belonging" in the school, the per cent of blacks for whom this was their neighborhood school, principal's report of integration among cheerleaders and the student council, and the level of civil rights activity in the community. We will report the regression results for only eight of these variables; the remaining 30 either have no effect, or, more often, are related to achievement but do not clarify the relationship between school racial composition and achievement.

For fifth grade blacks, only one of these variables shows an interesting effect. We find that fifth grade black achievement is affected not only by the racial composition of the school, but also by the racial attitudes of the whites in the school. Table 4.3 shows the interaction of percentage of white students and white racial attitudes. The regression analysis includes all the interaction terms, so that we can estimate the relationship between white attitudes and black achievement when the school is mostly white, and then make a separate estimate for schools with other racial compositions. For all three percentage white categories, those schools where white racial attitudes are above the mean (i. e., favorable) have a higher mean predicted achievement score. The difference is 6 points in schools with a low percentage of white students; in schools that are over 70 per cent white, there is a 19 point gain.[1]

TABLE 4. 3

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND WHITE RACIAL ATTITUDES ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR FIFTH GRADE BLACKSTUDENTS, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

Predicted Mean Achievement)

Mean of White Racial Attitudes	Per Cent White of School		
	0-40	41-70	71-100
Unfavorable. .	170 (34)	172 (64)	156 (45)
Favorable. . .	176 (31)	178 (43)	175 (31)

Notes: Number of schools in cell shown in parentheses.

r^2 added by white racial attitudes = .01

In Table 4. 2, we saw an 11 per cent drop in black achievement in schools that are more than 70 per cent white. In Table 4. 3, we see that the effect of racial composition on achievement is very small when white racial attitudes are taken into account. White racial attitudes explain an additional .01 per cent of the variance. So, while the effects of this variable are not strong, they do show that going to school with whites will have different effects on black achievement depending upon the attitudes of the white children.

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[1] Note that the table cannot tell us whether black achievement is influenced by white attitudes more than white attitudes are influenced by black achievement.

Tenth Grade Blacks

The relationship between the percentage of white students and black achievement is stronger in the tenth grade and also considerably more complex. Before we put SES controls in the regression equation, we see that black achievement is higher in schools with a high proportion of whites (Table 4.4). The pattern of gains is again different for males and females.

TABLE 4.4

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR
ALL TENTH GRADE BLACK STUDENTS AND FOR
EACH SEX SEPARATELY, NO CONTROLS

(Mean Achievement)

Student Group	Per Cent White of School			r^2 Added by Racial Composition
	0-40	41-70	71-100	
All blacks . . .	108	121	125	.02
Males only . . .	101	120	114	.02
Females only . .	115	125	135	.02
Number of schools . .	36	57	52	

The top row of Table 4.4 indicates that for the whole sample of blacks, the gain in achievement is linear. Schools in the middle percentage white category have a mean black achievement score 13 points higher than that of low percentage white schools; the mean for high percentage white schools is 4 points higher than it is for those in the middle range. For black males, the highest score, 120, is in the middle range schools. Achievement in predominantly white schools is slightly higher than that in predominantly black ones, but there is a 6 point drop from the middle to the high percentage white category. Female students, on the other hand, have perfectly linear gains in achievement. The score in schools with 41-70 per cent white is 10 points higher than in those with 0-40 per cent white, and there is an additional 10 point gain for schools with over 70 per cent white.

Adding SES controls to the equation eliminates a large portion of the gains in achievement, but does not change the pattern of sex differences. Table 4. 5 shows the mean achievement scores in the different categories of schools. The table calculates the scores for the entire sample, as well as breaking it down into males and females.

TABLE 4. 5

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION ACHIEVEMENT FOR TENTH GRADE BLACK STUDENTS AND FOR EACH SEX SEPARATELY, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

Student Group	Per Cent White of School			r^2 Added by Racial Composition
	0-40	41-70	71-100	
All blacks ..	116	122	119	.02
Males only...	109	119	109	.02
Females only...	122	127	127	.01
Number of schools...	36	57	52	

The first row of Table 4. 5, which is calculated on both males and females, illustrates the same rise in the middle that we first saw for males only. Controlling on student background, gains are significantly less. The difference between the low and middle percentage white categories is only 6 points. The reason for the change in the distribution becomes more clear when we look at the next two rows. Controlling on social class, predominantly white schools have a stronger negative effect upon black male achievement. The mean achievement in predominantly black schools is the same as in predominantly white ones. The highest score is in the middle range schools. Females continue to show a pattern of high achievement in white schools. The gain shown in Table 4. 5 is only 5 points compared to 20 points before we controlled on social class (Table 4. 4). In summary, black females tend to do slightly better in either mixed or predominantly white schools; black males, however, do best in equally mixed schools.

Coleman[2] found that the social status of other students is an important determinant of individual achievement. We expected that there would be a large interaction effect between the racial composition of the school and the social class of the white students, and Table 4.6 shows that this is the case. White social class explains an additional 3 per cent of the variance in black achievement. In each percentage white category, there are large gains in black achievement when white SES is high. Obviously, white SES should be more important in schools where there are more whites, and this is what the data show. The gain in schools that are 41-70 per cent white is 25 points; in the highest white percentage group, 22 points; and in predominantly black schools, the gain is only 11 points.

TABLE 4.6

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND WHITE SES ON
ACHIEVEMENT FOR TENTH GRADE BLACK STUDENTS,
STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

Mean White SES	Per Cent White of School		
	0-40	41-70	71-100
Low	110 (17)	109 (29)	105 (17)
High	120 (19)	134 (28)	127 (35)

Notes: Number of schools in cell shown in parentheses.

r^2 added by white SES = .03

Observe that in low SES schools, achievement goes down as percentage white increases, while in high SES schools, achievement goes up slightly. The higher the social status of the whites, the more beneficial integration is to the black students.

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[2] James S. Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

SES is quite an important variable, but there are other important factors that influence the impact of racial composition on achievement. As was true in the fifth grade, the racial attitudes of the white students are important for black tenth graders. Table 4.7 shows that across all the percentage white categories, the mean achievement scores are higher when white racial attitudes are more liberal. There is a 13 point gain in both the 40-70 per cent and 71-100 per cent white categories. It is not surprising that black students perform better in an integrated school where whites are more liberal and accepting of blacks. Note, however, that white racial attitudes are related to black achievement only when the school has a significant number of white students.

TABLE 4.7

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND WHITE RACIAL ATTITUDES ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR TENTH GRADE BLACK STUDENTS, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

White Racial Attitudes	Per Cent White of School		
	0-40	41-70	71-100
Low (prejudiced).	115 (23)	115 (31)	111 (16)
High (liberal). .	117 (13)	128 (26)	124 (36)

Notes: Number of schools in cell shown in parentheses.

r^2 added by white racial attitudes = .03

It would appear that it is important not only for black students to be tolerated by white students, but also for them to be involved in school activities and programs. Table 4.8 shows the effect of racial composition and participation in sports and clubs on tenth grade black achievement. In high percentage white schools, there is a 27 point difference in mean achievement between schools where participation is high and schools where it is low.

TABLE 4.8

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND BLACK PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS AND CLUBS ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR TENTH GRADE BLACK STUDENTS, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

Blacks Who Participated in Sports or Clubs	Per Cent White of School		
	0-40	41-70	71-100
Low....	112 (20)	121 (25)	107 (29)
High....	119 (16)	122 (32)	134 (23)

Notes: Number of schools in cell shown in parentheses.

r^2 added by participation in sports/clubs = .03

With further investigation, we discovered that this finding is true for high school females, but not for high school males. Tables 4.9 and 4.10 show the same interaction broken down by both the participation rate of each sex and the achievement of each sex. In Table 4.9 we see that schools with high male participation rates have lower achievement for both sexes, regardless of racial composition. It seems likely that much of this participation is in athletic activity. Female participation is more likely to be in service club or social activities, and (Table 4.10) is usually associated with higher achievement for both sexes. The very strong effects of high participation in predominantly white schools occur only for black females.

TABLE 4.9

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND BLACK MALE PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS AND CLUBS ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR TENTH GRADE BLACK STUDENTS, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

	Male Achievement			Female Achievement		
Black Male Participation in Sports and Clubs	Per Cent White of School			Per Cent White of School		
	0-40	41-70	71-100	0-40	41-70	71-100
Low.	112 (17)	124 (25)	115 (26)	131 (17)	129 (25)	126 (26)
High. . . .	110 (19)	120 (32)	106 (24)	115 (19)	126 (32)	128 (24)

Notes: Number of schools in cell shown in parentheses.

r^2 added by participation in sports/clubs = .003 for males, .003 for females.

TABLE 4.10

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND BLACK FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS AND CLUBS ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR TENTH GRADE BLACK FEMALE STUDENTS, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

	Male Achievement			Female Achievement		
Black Female Participation in Sports and Clubs	Per Cent White of School			Per Cent White of School		
	0-40	41-70	71-100	0-40	41-70	71-100
Low. . . .	108 (17)	129 (25)	108 (27)	113 (17)	127 (25)	115 (27)
High. . . .	113 (19)	115 (32)	114 (23)	132 (19)	128 (32)	142 (23)

Notes: Number of schools in cell shown in parentheses.

r^2 added by participation in sports/clubs = .03 for females, .01 for males.

There has been considerable controversy over the issue of busing and the value of attending a neighborhood school. Our results show that, for blacks, there appears to be a negative effect of not attending a neighborhood school. Table 4.11 presents the results. The variable is the per cent of blacks for whom there is no closer public school, i.e., the percentage who go to their neighborhood school. The bottom row presents data for schools that are the neighborhood schools for most of their students. These schools have higher mean achievement scores in every percentage white category. To test that hypotheses that busing to achieve desegregation will generally raise test scores, we should compare the lower left cell (predominantly black neighborhood schools) to the upper right (bussed white schools); we find slight losses in achievement. At the same time attending a predominantly white neighborhood school is associated with slightly higher achievement.

TABLE 4.11

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND GOING TO THE NEAREST SCHOOL ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR TENTH GRADE BLACK STUDENTS, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

Per Cent Attending Neighborhood School	Per Cent White of School		
	0-40	41-70	71-100
Low (not in neighborhood school)...	99 (30)	116 (44)	114 (25)
High (in neighborhood school)...	120 (6)	127 (19)	125 (28)

Notes: Number of schools in cell shown in parentheses.

r^2 added by going to closest school = .01

Tenth Grade Whites

Perhaps the most significant finding for tenth grade white students is that integration does not lower achievement. Achievement scores for both sexes are higher in schools that are equally mixed racially than they are in predominantly white schools. Table 4.12 shows the mean achievement scores for the three categories of percentage white. For both sexes, there is a rise in achievement in schools that are 41-70 per cent white. In all cases, achievement is higher in predominantly white schools than in predominantly black ones, but the best scores are in racially balanced schools.

TABLE 4.12

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR
ALL TENTH GRADE WHITE STUDENTS AND FOR
EACH SEX SEPARATELY, NO CONTROLS

(Mean Achievement)

Student Group	Per Cent White of School			r^2 Added by Racial Composition
	0-40	41-70	71-100	
All whites . . .	255	275	268	.01
Males only . . .	244	264	262	.01
Females only . .	267	284	275	.01
Number of schools . . .	22	61	77	

When we add controls to the equation, we increase rather than decrease the effects of racial composition (Table 4.13). We also find a large male-female difference. Taking the whole sample together, we see that there are linear gains in white student achievement as the percentage of blacks in a school increases: there is a 29 point difference in achievement between schools that are predominantly white and those that are predominantly black. Racial composition in this case explains 2 per cent of the variance.

Table 4.13 also shows that, for males, the best achievement is still in the 41-70 per cent white schools. However, the controls have boosted the predicted achievement in predominantly black schools, so that it is higher than the mean for predominantly white schools. Overall racial composition explains less of the variance for males than it does for females. The third row of Table 4.13 shows that females exhibit the pattern seen for the overall sample, but even stronger. There is a very strong negative linear relationship between the percentage of white students and white achievement. Females in predominantly black schools have a predicted mean achievement score that is 40 points greater than that for predominantly white schools.

TABLE 4.13

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION ON ACHIEVEMENT OF ALL TENTH GRADE WHITE STUDENTS AND ON EACH RACE SEPARATELY, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

Student Group	Per Cent White of School			r^2 Added by Racial Composition
	0-40	41-70	71-100	
All whites . . .	288	276	259	.02
Males only . . .	264	266	254	.01
Females only . .	304	287	264	.02
Number of schools . .	22	61	77	

Comparing the tables where we used controls with those where we did not, we can see that, in some manner, social class is masking the effects of integration on achievement. This means that whites in the middle and upper range white schools were of a higher social class. When we eliminated these effects, we found that going to a predominantly black school improves white achievement.

One might argue that this is a selection phenomenon; whites who choose to remain in predominantly black schools do so because they are initially liberal, more intellectual students. These effects, however, should have been controlled for by our social class variables.

Whites as well as blacks are affected not only by the racial composition per se, but also by the quality of race relations in the school. Table 4.14 gives the interaction effect between the level of racial tension in the school and the racial composition of it. Here too, there is an interesting phenomenon. We might expect bad race relations to have an effect on the achievement of the students in the minority. To some extent we found this to be the case with fifth and tenth grade blacks--they were more affected by white racial attitudes in the schools with more whites. Table 4.14 shows that whites are more affected by racial issues where they are in the majority. The independent variable in this case is the percentage of whites who say that racial tensions make school more difficult. The category "low" means that fewer students report tensions. In all three school categories, the less the tension, the better the achievement score. The differences, however, in the 0-40 per cent and the 41-70 per cent white categories are very slight. Only in predominantly white schools does the level of racial tension make an enormous difference: the achievement score is 272 where tension is low and 234 where tensions are greater. This is clearly quite significant.

TABLE 4.14

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND RACIAL TENSION ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR TENTH GRADE WHITE STUDENTS, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

White Students Who Say Tensions Make It Hard	Per Cent White of School		
	0-40	41-70	71-100
Low	284 (10)	279 (22)	272 (51)
High	281 (13)	275 (40)	234 (26)

Notes: Number of schools in cell shown in parentheses.

r^2 added by tensions make it hard = .03

In predominantly white schools where there are many racial incidents, it is likely that white students initiate the disturbances (since the outnumbered blacks will be reluctant to look for fights). Thus, white trouble-making is associated with low white achievement, but we do not know which is cause and which effect. It is possible that low-achieving whites will be resentful and make it difficult for any newly arriving black students. Their own frustrations may be taken out on the blacks. The other possibility is that tension may undermine the achievement of white students.

Fifth Grade Whites

The uncontrolled relationship between racial composition and fifth grade white achievement shows high losses when white children go to black schools. The predicted achievement scores are given in Table 4.15. For both sexes, the drop is linear and strong. However, these disastrous effects of integration appear to be completely the result of social class and geography. Once we control for student background, urbanism, and region, the negative effects disappear and we see instead the same sex differences that we have for other groups.

TABLE 4.15

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION ON ACHIEVEMENT FOR ALL FIFTH GRADE WHITE STUDENTS AND FOR EACH SEX SEPARATELY, NO CONTROLS

(Mean Achievement)

Student Group	Per Cent White of School			r^2 Added by Racial Composition
	0-40	41-70	71-100	
All whites . . .	304	342	349	.06
Males only . . .	286	321	332	.05
Females only . .	317	385	354	.04
Number of schools . . .	48	122	127	

Table 4.16 shows that for all fifth grade whites, we see a slight gain in achievement in the middle range of schools: 350 compared to only 344 in predominantly white schools. None of the effects are very strong and the r^2 drops from .06 with no controls to .001 with controls.

We see a similar pattern for males. The differences are very small, but there is a slight gain in the middle range of racially mixed schools. For females, we see a noticeable achievement gain in the middle group of schools. The mean score is 366 for equally mixed schools, and 356 for predominantly white schools. Unlike the males, female achievement in predominantly black schools is higher than it is in white schools. For females, racial composition still explains 1 per cent of the variance.

TABLE 4.16

EFFECT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION ON ACHIEVEMENT OF ALL FIFTH GRADE WHITE STUDENTS AND ON EACH RACE SEPARATELY, STUDENT BACKGROUND CONTROLLED

(Predicted Mean Achievement)

Student Group	Per Cent White of School			r^2 Added by Racial Composition
	0-40	41-70	71-100	
All whites	343	350	344	.001
Males only	319	322	319	.001
Females only . . .	360	366	356	.01
Number of schools . . .	48	122	127	

The change between the controlled and uncontrolled equations means that white elementary school students who go to black schools are of a much lower socioeconomic status than those who go to white schools. We believe that this is because elementary school students are much more likely to go to their neighborhood school, and white children who live in black neighborhoods are more likely to be poor. Unfortunately, we do not have comparable measures of who goes to neighborhood schools for both fifth and tenth grades. If we did, we would perhaps find that SES has a greater effect for fifth grade than it does in the tenth because elementary school children are more tied to their neighborhoods.

For fifth grade whites there do not appear to be other school characteristics that have a significant effect upon racial composition.

Discussion

A distinction is sometimes made between desegregation, racial balance, and integration. The first refers to a policy of assigning both races to the same school, the second to controlling racial composition, and the third to the creation of positive relationships between the races. We can say nothing about the impact of desegregation: all the schools in the ESAP sample are desegregated, so we have no segregated schools for comparison. Our data are, however, relevant to a discussion of the effects of racial composition and integration.

The effects of racial composition are generally small, and can be summarized by saying that most groups, both white and black, do less well in schools that are over 70 per cent white, and that most groups do well in schools that are 41 to 70 per cent white. Perhaps the most noteworthy conclusion is that any fears that white achievement has suffered because of Southern school desegregation are completely unfounded.

We also found strong social class gains. Blacks who go to school with high status whites have higher achievement than those who go to school with whites from low SES families. The reverse does not appear to be true; white achievement is not affected by the SES of the blacks in the school. Desegregation is most successful when high status whites are involved.

Finally, we found that both black and white achievement is affected by the quality of the race relations in the school. Schools with good race relations have higher achievement. (We have assumed that better race relations cause these achievement gains; it may be, however, that it is the better performance of students that causes improvement in race relations.) We read our data as implying that policy makers should be concerned more with the quality of racial contact than with the simple demography of desegregation.

The racial atmosphere of the school is important for both blacks and whites. At both the fifth and tenth grade levels, liberal white racial attitudes seem to improve the performance of blacks. Racial tension is also detrimental to white achievement. What is most interesting is that the worst effects of racial tension for whites occur in high percentage white schools. We assume that minority students who are harassed by those in the majority will naturally perform poorly in school. It is less obvious that prejudice and hostility are a drain on everyone's good energy. White achievement is hurt by racial tension where whites are in a clear majority.

The fact that achievement is highest in newly desegregated Southern schools where there are roughly equal numbers of blacks and whites suggests that Southern blacks are uncomfortable when they are in the minority.[3] This is true only of black males, however.

We are intrigued by the differences between male and female response to integration. At the fifth grade level, black male achievement goes down in predominantly white schools, while black female achievement is higher in these schools. The same general phenomenon occurs for fifth grade whites. Once we control for social class, racial composition has little impact on males, although the mean achievement score is higher in the middle range schools. Fifth grade females also do best in middle range schools, but perform better in predominantly black schools than in predominantly white ones.

In the tenth grade, this pattern is accentuated. Black males do best in schools in which the ratio is 50-50/white-black; they do not do well in predominantly white schools. For females, the effect of racial composition is monotonic--they show no loss in schools where a high percentage of the students are white. Whites seem to show the same pattern; i.e., males gain the most from being in schools that are 41-70 per cent white, while white females do best in predominantly black schools. All of this suggests that it is difficult for males of either race to be in schools where they are outnumbered, regardless of the situation in the schools.

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[3] The same pattern--achievement higher in mixed schools, and lower for both white and black schools--is reported by Christopher Jencks and Martha Brown in "The Effects of Desegregation on Student Achievement: Some New Evidence from the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey." (Cambridge: Harvard Center for Educational Policy Research, 1972).

We also found that black females in predominantly white schools do very well if they can become involved in athletics and social clubs; if they become involved in the social life of the school they do better academically. This is not true for black high school males.

White females do very well in predominantly black schools. We speculate that this has to do with sex role expectations. Whites in black schools are expected to do well, regardless of their sex. Females in white high schools do not have this special status. They are not expected to excel in school and, at a point, intellectual achievements become suspect and create social difficulties. In black schools, girls have status as whites rather than as females. As whites, they are expected to do well academically, regardless of their sex.

Conclusion

The percentage of variance explained by the racial composition of the school is not large. Thus, we cannot say that sending blacks and whites to school together will instantly raise achievement by a grade level.

The optimal situation appears to be one where there is a fairly equal split between races.

Schools with good race relations have higher achievement. This suggests that school policy makers should work to improve race relations, and supports our contention that ESAP raised achievement by changing the racial climate in the schools.

In general, females fare much better than their male peers in situations where they are outnumbered by members of the opposite race. Black females do well in predominantly white high schools as long as they can become involved in the social and athletic life of the school. White high school females do very well in predominantly black schools. Integration appears to be more of a problem for males of both grades and races. Their achievement is higher in schools that are mixed racially, but not in schools where they are clearly outnumbered. We need to explore further the nature of sex differences and their influence on racial tensions and achievement in schools.

APPENDIX

Social Class Controls

- Fifth grade blacks and whites
- Per cent do not use food stamps
- Mean number of siblings
- Per cent receive regular newspaper
- Per cent live with both parents
- Per cent who have bicycles
- Border vs. Deep South dummy variables
- Per cent urban in district

Tenth grade blacks and whites

- Per cent mothers who are high school graduates or more
- Per cent who receive a regular newspaper
- Per cent who live with both parents
- Mean number of siblings
- Per cent urban in district

WORKING PAPER 5

BUSING

by

James A. Davis[1]

Introduction

This paper considers the consequences (or correlates) of busing in the ESAP schools. The sample design for the study is discussed elsewhere in the report; we note here only that we are dealing with survey data from fifth and tenth grade students in 555 recently desegregated school districts. Data were collected by NORC in the spring of 1972, under a contract with the United States Office of Education.

Busing or "forced busing," as its opponents call it, is supposed to be a controversial topic, but in a statistical sense this is not entirely correct. Within the white population, surveys show almost monolithic opposition, not the fifty-fifty split indicative of controversy. Table 5.1 combines Gallup data for 1970 and 1971 with results from NORC's 1972 General Social Survey for the question: "In general do you favor or oppose the busing of Negro and white children from one school district to another?"

At least three-quarters of the total population say "oppose" and the figure reaches a remarkable 94 per cent among Southern whites. Perhaps equally remarkable is the ample "low" of 42 per cent among Northern blacks. Since blacks are far from inhibited in expressing pro-civil rights opinions in surveys, this degree of disapproval is striking in a staunchly pro-civil rights group.

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[1] With the assistance of Gregory Gaertner and A. Wade Smith.

TABLE 5.1

ATTITUDES TOWARD BUSING IN THE U.S. POPULATION

(Per cent saying "Oppose" in answer to the question: In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of Negro and white school children from one school district to another?)

	March, 1970		August and October, 1971		March, 1972	
Total "Oppose"	81	(--)[b]	75	(--)	77	(1,606)[d]
By Race:						
White	85	(--)	78	(--)	86	(1,282)
Nonwhite . . .	48	(--)	46.5	(--)	45	(242)
By Region:						
South	87	(--)	83	(--)	80	(472)
White	--[c]		--		94	(329)
Nonwhite . . .	--		--		48	(143)
North[a]	79	(--)	72	(--)	80	(1,052)
White	--		--		84	(953)
Nonwhite . . .	--		--		42	(99)

SOURCES: 1970 and 1971 are Gallup surveys, as reported in Frank Armbruster, The Forgotten Americans (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1972), pp. 84-85. 1972 data are unpublished tabulations from the 1972 NORC General Social Survey.

Notes: All data are national samples of the adult population age 18 and older (age 21 and older in 1970). 1971 figures are averages of percentages for two surveys.

[a] Averaged from separate percentages for East, Midwest, and South.

[b] N's not reported in original source. 1970 is probably about the same as 1972; 1971 is probably about double.

[c] Not reported in the original source.

[d] Total of 1,606 exceeds total in subtables (1,524) because the latter data are taken from a larger table in which "No answers" on education are excluded.

For comparison, Table 5.2 gives similar data on school integration per se. At first glance, it hardly appears possible that the answers could be coming from the same populations. Table 5.2 shows consistently strong support for integrated schools among Northern whites, and a striking increase in pro-integration sentiment among Southern whites.

TABLE 5.2

ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN THE U.S. WHITE POPULATION

(Per cent saying "No" in answer to the question listed)

Question and Region	1959	1965	1966	1969	1972
Would you yourself have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few of the children are Negroes?					
North	92	91	93	93	96(1,002)
South	25	62	74	78	83 (336)
Would you yourself have any objection to sending your children to a school where half of the children are Negroes?					
North	63	65	64	69	79(1,002)
South	12	27	44	47	60 (336)
Would you yourself have any objection to sending your children to a school where more than half the children are Negroes?					
North	35	37	32	39	45(1,002)
South	8	16	27	26	32 (336)

SOURCES: 1959 through 1969 are Gallup surveys, as reported in George Gallup, The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971 (Random House, 1972). 1972 data are unpublished tabulations from the 1972 NORC General Social Survey.

Notes: The 1959 and 1965 Gallup questions were asked only of "parents of school age children." 1966 and 1969 respondents are not described as parents in the original source. 1972 data are for all respondents.

Gallup N's are not reported, but should be close to those for 1972.

All samples are of the total U.S. white population. 1959 through 1969 are for those age 21 and older; 1972 is for those age 18 and older.

Examining Table 5.1 and Table 5.2 together, we observe that a month before the ESAP study, 94 per cent of Southern whites opposed busing, while 60 per cent were willing to send their children to schools that are half black. A common response to such findings is to infer that the respondents are lying or are hypocritical, but this inference will not resolve the apparent contradiction. If whites are under social pressure to give pro-integration answers, why do two-thirds of them oppose integration when "more than half of the children are Negroes"? If anti-busing is just a code word for anti-integration, why aren't more than 6 per cent of the Southern whites under social pressure to give a "liberal" response?

The columns in Table 5.2 suggest another interpretation. We see striking variations, depending upon the hypothetical racial context. For Southern whites in 1972, the pro-integration percentage ranges from 32 per cent to 96 per cent, depending upon the question--a difference much stronger than the region or time effects in the table. Taken together, Tables 5.1 and 5.2 suggest (but do not prove)[2] the following:

> In the general population, there is almost no support for school segregation as a principle, but there are strong concerns abouth the social situations that are assumed to accompany integration.

To a militant integrationist,[3] the distinction may appear to be mere hair splitting, but I would argue that it is not. Social research has no argument against those who believe racial integration is just plain wrong as a moral principle. If, however, the issue turns on whether a given aspect of integrated schooling has a given deleterious effect on the children, appeal to the facts is in order.

As usual, the facts that emerge from the ESAP research are far from simple and unambiguous, but the data reported here are probably the best information available (or likely to be soon available) on this pressing social problem.[4] Thus, the aim of this analysis is to assess the impacts, if any, of a number of aspects of school integration, loosely described by the word "busing."

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[2] A recent unpublished study by Jonathan Kelley ("Racism and School Busing," Columbia University, February, 1973, litho.) tends to support the proposition. In an extensive analysis of race items in the 1972 NORC General Social Survey, Kelley shows that the busing item has low correlations with race prejudice items and a somewhat different pattern of correlations with personal characteristics.

[3] I think it is appropriate to note that the writer would be classified in this category.

A Note on Statistical Conclusions

The data from the ESAP study have a useful but complicated logical structure that must be borne in mind when reading the statistical results. A hypothetical example may clarify. Consider two fictitious questionnaire items: "Do you watch TV a lot?" (Yes, No) and "How often do you go to the movies?" (Regularly, Occasionally, Seldom). Ignoring such technical details as case weighting and minimal class-subsample size explained elsewhere in the report, the data preparation we used would proceed as follows:

1) The questionnaire is administered to fifth grade samples in 361 elementary schools and tenth grade samples in 194 high schools. In each school, sample sizes are close to 50 cases.

2) Consider the sample from Jones School. It has 50 cases, 34 white and 16 black. These students give the following answers:

a)

TV	Yes	No	Total	Per Cent Yes
White	26	8	34	76
Black	8	8	16	50

b)

Movies	Regularly	Occasionally	Seldom	Total	Per Cent Regularly or Occasionally
White	13	11	10	34	71
Black	8	4	4	16	75

3) For each question, we formed a dichotomy (e.g., Regularly and Occasionally versus Seldom) and calculated the percentages within races within schools, e.g., 76 per cent Yes on TV for Jones School white students; 50 per cent Yes for Jones School black students.

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[4] Because the ESAP data are so much better than anything else available on the topic, we have chosen not to review the literature, since it is almost all based on such small and inadequate samples that, in the case of contradiction, we are almost certainly "right." The problems in our own sample and design are treated elsewhere in this report.

4) This gives each school two scores on each variable, one for blacks and one for whites. Such scores can range from 0 to 100.

For the research reported in this chapter, we generally dichotomized these within-race-and-school scores. For example, if we chose 60 per cent as the cutting point for TV in each race, Jones School would be scored as "high" for TV-white and "low" for TV-black.

Within-race-and-school scores can be analyzed using any standard statistical technique ranging from percentage tables to multiple regression analysis. The main point is that the generalizations apply to schools, not ipso facto to individual students. Thus, for TV-white, we might get the following single-variable results in the fifth grade:

Mean = 83% (937)

The numbers should be read like this: For 937 fifth grades, the average score on the variable, "per cent of whites watching TV," is 83. This statement does not imply that 83 per cent of the white students watch TV. (Note, for example, that students in smaller schools and students in racial minorities within a school will make a disproportionate contribution to the mean.)

Similarly, when examining correlations, a finding such as, "there is a positive correlation between TV-black and Movie-black," should be construed as follows: In schools where black students are high on TV watching, black students tend to be high on movie watching. This finding does not guarantee that the heavy TV watchers tend to be the same youngsters as the heavy movie watchers. A hypothetical finding may illustrate: there is probably a school-level correlation between the proportion of high school students taking three years of Russian and the proportion taking three years of German, but the particular students who do the former are quite unlikely to also do the latter.

In summary, we repeat: the statistical conslusions drawn are about school populations, not necessarily about individual students within school populations.

Predictor Variables (Mode of Desegregation)

A school bus is a large, yellow, essentially unambiguous vehicle. School busing, however, is hard to define with a single measure, especially since the lengthy questionnaires for the project do not contain a direct question asking whether children are bused for the specific purpose of achieving integration. Common sense suggests that the concept should be broken down as follows:

1) The first variable we will call "busing per se": the percentage of students who are transported to and from school by bus, rather than in cars, on foot, or by bicycle. It is doubtful, of course, that the sheer fact of riding in a bus has much to do with anything important, but we can hardly ignore bus riding in a study of busing. The ESAP data file contains the percentage of students traveling by bus for whites and blacks in the fifth and tenth grade samples. We decided to dichotomize all four groups at 67 per cent. Table 5.3 shows the results.

The figures show a considerable race difference. In most of the schools, two-thirds or more of the black students ride buses, while less than two-thirds of the whites do so.

TABLE 5.3

BUSING PER SE, BY RACE AND GRADE

(Per cent of schools where 67 per cent or more travel by bus)

Race	Grade	
	Fifth	Tenth
White	39 (971/112)[a]	19 (536/46)
Black	58 (937/146)	65 (506/76)

[a] N's are weighted, as explained elsewhere in the project report. The number after the slash is the total number of "no answer" schools, mostly due to schools where the particular racial group was too small to justify tabulations.

2) In public discussions of the busing matter, the concept of the importance of the neighborhood school appears regularly. Educators, who have been working for decades to consolidate rural schools, might be surprised to learn that attending the closest possible school is a fundamental American value; opponents of busing argue that it is poor policy to send children to distant schools when closer ones exist. Indeed, if busing did not imply such a pattern, it is hard to see how its opponents can oppose it without advocating overtly segregationist principles.

The ESAP questionnaires asked each child whether there is a public school closer to his home than the one he now attends. We can calculate the percentage of students who are attending the closest school (i.e., the percentage who do not say there is a closer one). The percentages run high (Table 5.4).

In each of the four groups, the mean is roughly 75 per cent; i.e., in the average school in the study, about three-quarters of the students report they are attending their neighborhood school. In both grades, the percentages run higher for whites. We infer that desegregation plans more often involve new school assignments for blacks than for whites. Because of the race correlation, the variable which we will refer to as "nearest school" was dichotomized to give equal splits in the different data sets. Table 5.5 summarizes.

TABLE 5.4

STUDENTS ATTENDING CLOSEST SCHOOL, BY RACE AND GRADE

(Means for school distributions on per cent attending closest school)

Race	Grade	
	Fifth (Per Cent)	Tenth (Per Cent)
White	76 (937/146)[a]	84 (536/46)
Black	66 (971/112)	70 (506/76)

[a] N's are weighted, as explained elsewhere in the project report. The number after the slash is the total number of "no answer" schools, mostly due to schools where the particular racial group was too small to justify tabulations.

TABLE 5.5

DICHOTOMIES FOR PER CENT ATTENDING NEAREST SCHOOL

Data Set and Category	Value	Per Cent	N
Fifth Grade Blacks:			
High	≥ 75%	49	457
Low	< 75%	51	480
No answer			146
Fifth Grade Whites:			
High	≥ 84%	57	553
Low	< 84%	43	418
No answer			112
Tenth Grade Blacks:			
High	≥ 75%	58	291
Low	< 75%	42	215
No answer			76
Tenth Grade Whites:			
High	≥ 87%	60	324
Low	< 87%	40	212
No answer			46

3) The last busing variable is racial composition. Presumably, the purpose of desegregation arrangements is to modify the racial composition of the schools; it is possible that, as Table 5.2 suggests, the opposition to busing is part of a syndrome that includes concerns about the effects of various racial proportions. Ideology aside, we certainly must introduce this variable as a statistical control so that we can keep separate the effects of how children get to school, whether they attend a neighborhood school, and the social composition of the school they do attend.

Our measure is the percentage of black pupils in the school, as reported by the principal. We will call this variable "per cent black." This percentage is not, of course, necessarily the same as the percentage black for a particular student's classes within the school. Table 5.6 shows that 35 per cent gives a comfortable cutting point for both fifth and tenth grade schools. The average school at both grade levels runs about two-thirds white to one-third black.

TABLE 5.6

PER CENT BLACK IN THE SCHOOL BY GRADE LEVEL

Grade	Per Cent of Schools with 35 Per Cent or Less Black Students
Fifth	52 (1,077/6)
Tenth	44 (582)

The three components--busing per se, nearest school, and per cent black--give five variables, since there are white and black scores for the first two but not for the third.

The five variables are far from independent statistically and the matter is made even more complex when we consider an ecological variable, urbanism. The strongest correlate of busing per se is whether the school is in the city or in the country. Urbanism was measured by Census figures on the per cent of the county that was urban in 1960. Using a cutting point of 55 per cent, we classified 62 per cent of the fifth grades and 47 per cent of the tenth grades as urban.

Table 5.7 gives the zero-order (no variables controlled) correlations among the desegregation variables. The coefficient is Yule's Q, a measure of association appropriate for dichotomous data.[5] We will not interpret the table directly, save to note that there is rough agreement between the fifth and tenth grade coefficients.. Instead, we will look at the intercorrelations of the desegregation items within the two levels of urbanism. These data appear in Table 5.8.

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[5] Like the product moment correlation coefficient, Q has a value of .00 when the variables are statistically independent, a maximum of +1.00 for the strongest possible positive association, and a minimum of -1.00 for the strongest possible negative association. When Q's and product moment correlations are run on the same data, the Q's are always higher, of mathematical necessity. See James A. Davis, Elementary Survey Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1971) Chapter 2. See Appendix 1 to this paper (p. 119) for further discussion.

TABLE 5.7

ZERO-ORDER ASSOCIATIONS (YULE'S Q) AMONG DESEGREGATION VARIABLES AND URBANISM

(Tenth Grade Above Diagonal, Fifth Grade Below Diagonal)

Item	Urbanism	Busing Per Se		Nearest School		Per Cent Black
		Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	
Urbanism		-.45	-.71	-.20	-.45	-.32
Busing Per Se:						
Whites	-.53		.16	-.25	.01	-.02
Blacks	-.72	.33		.09	-.10	-.06
Nearest School:						
Whites	-.36	-.27	.51		.24	-.08
Blacks	-.55	.38	-.02	.14		.36
Per Cent Black	-.35	.34	-.24	-.33	.14	

Notes: Smallest weighted N's: fifth grade, 830; tenth grade,460.

High categories:

Urbanism--high per cent urban
Busing--high per cent traveling on bus
Nearest school--high per cent attending nearest school
Per cent black--high per cent black.

The import of Table 5.8 is even less obvious than Table 5.7, but Figure 5.1 helps a bit. In Figure 5.1 we have drawn all of the zero-order associations of .30 or more in magnitude, following the convention that a Q of .30 is "moderate."[6]

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[6] Davis, Elementary Survey Analysis, p. 49.

TABLE 5.8

ZERO-ORDER ASSOCIATIONS (YULE'S Q) AMONG DESEGREGATION VARIABLES WITHIN URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

(Tenth Grade Above Diagonal, Fifth Grade Below Diagonal)

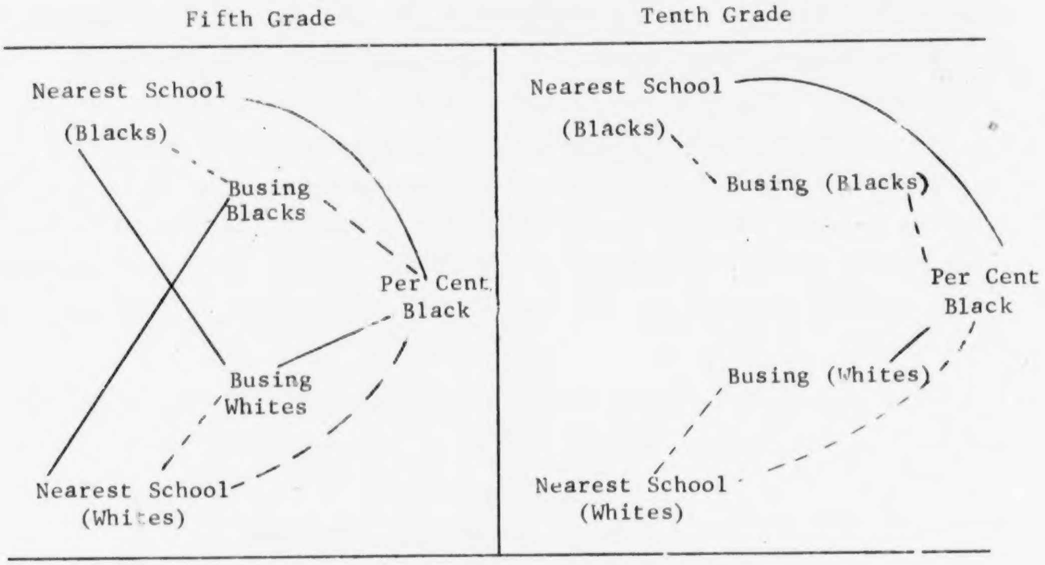
Item	Busing Per Se		Nearest School		Per Cent Black
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	
A) Relatively Urban (55 per cent or more Urban)					
Busing Per Se:					
Whites		-.24	-.58	.13	.62
Blacks	-.04		.18	-.35	-.32
Nearest School:					
Whites	-.60	.46		.08	-.49
Blacks	.30	-.50	-.01		.48
Per Cent Black	.43	-.63	-.43	.50	
B) Relatively Rural					
Busing Per Se:					
Whites		.34	-.16	-.23	-.46
Blacks	.63		-.30	-.40	-.20
Nearest School:					
Whites	-.07	.49		.28	.16
Blacks	.25	.20	.17		.09
Per Cent Black	.03	.32	-.39	.23	

Notes: Smallest weighted N's:
fifth grade rural = 321
fifth grade urban = 509
tenth grade rural = 244
tenth grade urban = 216

High categories:

Urbanism--high per cent urban
Busing--high per cent traveling on bus
Nearest school--high per cent attending nearest school
Per cent black--high per cent black.

A) Relatively Urban


Fifth Grade
Tenth Grade
Nearest School
(Blacks)
Busing
Blacks
Per Cent
Black
Busing
Whites
Nearest School
(Whites)
Nearest School
(Blacks)
Busing (Blacks)
Per Cent
Black
Busing (Whites)
Nearest School
(Whites)

B) Relatively Rural

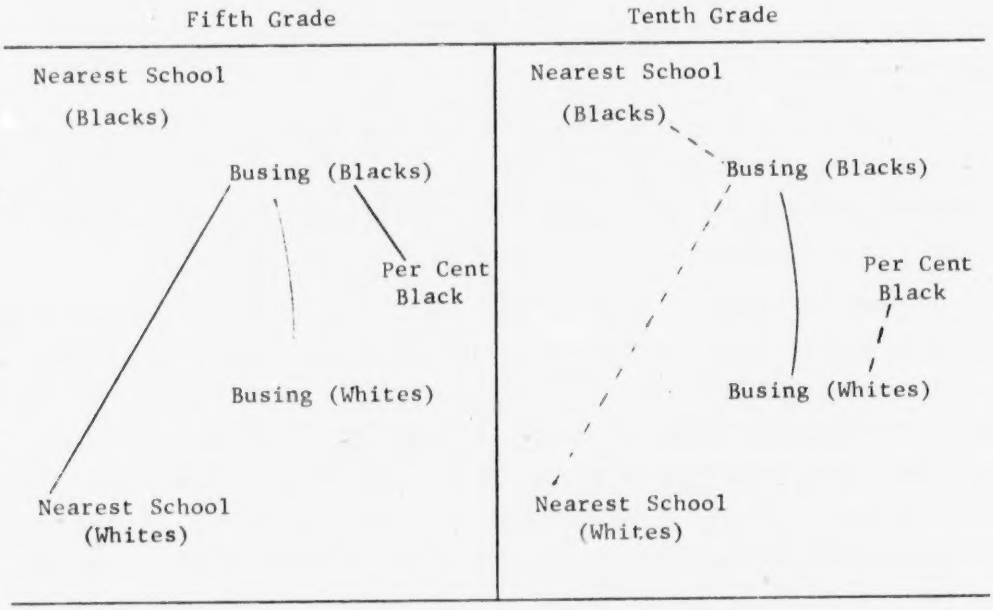

Fifth Grade
Tenth Grade
Nearest School
(Blacks)
Busing (Blacks)
Per Cent
Black
Busing (Whites)
Nearest School
(Whites)
Nearest School
(Blacks)
Busing (Blacks)
Per Cent
Black
Busing (Whites)
Nearest School
(Whites)

Fig. 5.1--Data in Table 5.8 in diagram form; magnitudes less than .30 excluded.

(Solid Lines Equal Positive Associations, Dashed Lines Equal Negative Associations)

We begin with the urban fifth grades in the upper left-hand corner of Figure 5.1. Assuming a high degree of ecological racial segregation in these communities and the use of busing to change school racial compositions, the lines in the diagram make a lot of sense. For both races, busing (a) has a negative relationship with attending the nearest school; (b) has a positive relationship with the opposite race attending the nearest school; and (c) has a negative relationship with the per cent of students of one's own race. The suggestion is that busing is used to take students from their neighborhoods to schools in neighborhoods of different racial composition, thereby "diluting" the white or black preponderance in the schools.

Remaining with the urban fifth grade diagram, we next observe that the variable of "nearest school" behaves in the opposite fashion. It (a) has a negative correlation with busing students of the same race; (b) has a positive correlation with busing students of the opposite race; and (c) has a positive relationship with the per cent of students of one's own race. Thus, busing appears to be positively correlated with integration, and attending a neighborhood school appears to be negatively correlated with integration.

Now we shift to the tenth grade urban diagram. The pattern is essentially the same, except that the cross-correlations for busing one group and attending nearest school for the other are not strong enough to appear in the diagram.

When we turn to the rural areas, the bottom diagrams in Figure 5.1, this neat pattern just disappears. Busing has fewer correlations with racial composition and those that appear have the "wrong" signs. In the rural tenth grades, busing of whites is negatively correlated with per cent black (the more white students bused, the higher the per cent white in the school). In the rural fifth grades, busing of blacks is positively correlated with per cent black (the more black students bused, the higher the per cent black in the school).

We do not know enough about the rural South or the details of the court-ordered desegregation plans to comment on these findings for the rural schools. For now, all we can observe is this:

1) In the urban schools, busing per se behaves like the "forced busing" of policy discussions, but this is not true in the rural schools.

2) It will be necessary to examine all our results separately for urban and rural schools.

Dependent Variables

Having analyzed the system of variables that describe "mode of desegregation," the social arrangements for desegregation in these schools, we turn to the dependent variables, the possible "consequences" of busing. Social science theory has little to suggest in the way of hypotheses, and the hundreds of variables in the project data are too rich for systematic coverage. Therefore, we made a common sense selection of the following topics:

1) Social Tensions
2) Student Morale
3) Race Relations
4) Academic Achievement

and will discuss each in turn.

1) Social Tensions

The simplest hypothesis is that busing is associated with high levels of tension in the schools. Opponents of busing claim that it is disruptive and unnatural and even proponents might expect a "spurious" correlation produced by community opposition to the policy. For our analysis, we chose two indicators of social tensions, "desegregation problems" and "tension."

Question 7 in the schedule for teachers reads, "On the whole, how would you evaluate the way in which desegregation is working out in your school?" (almost no problems, some minor problems, some serious problems, many serious problems). The first two responses were combined and pooled to give the percentage of teachers reporting minor or no problems. The percentages run high and we chose to dichotomize at the 85 per cent level.

This gives a 51-49 low problem-high problem split at the tenth grade level, and a 67-33 split for fifth grades; that is, in half of the high schools and in two-thirds of the grade schools, 85 per cent or more of the teachers reported minor problems or no problems with desegregation. Such figures should not be taken at face value, but they should not be written off casually either. Even though the schools in the sample were undergoing striking changes, the typical school in the sample shows a strong majority of the teachers reporting low levels of problems.

Question 5 in the teacher schedule reads, "I feel the atmosphere is tense in this school" (yes, no). When pooled and averaged, the figures are quite similar to those for desegregation problems. Using the cutting point of 85 per cent, we get a 58-42 high-low tension split at the fifth grade and a 53-47 split at the tenth grade level. In other words, in about half of the schools, regardless of grade level, 85 per cent or more of the teachers checked "no."

2) Student Morale

For our second topic, we chose student reports on morale, using one global and one specific item. The global measure is self-report of happiness. Slightly different wordings were used at the two levels: for the fifth grade, the question was "Would you say you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?" (very happy, pretty happy, not too happy); and for the tenth grade, it was "Everything considered, are you very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?" (very happy, pretty happy, not too happy). Table 5.9 shows the trends by grade and race.

There is no difference by grade level, but there is a consistent racial difference. In both grades, blacks report lower levels of happiness. This is a repeated and poignant finding in national surveys of adults; it is interesting to compare these results with data from the same 1972 NORC General Social Survey discussed in connection with Table 5.1. The General Social Survey used a third minor variation, "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days--would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" Table 5.10 gives the results.

TABLE 5.9

MEAN PER CENT OF STUDENTS PER SCHOOL REPORTING THEMSELVES AS "VERY HAPPY" OR "PRETTY HAPPY" (AS OPPOSED TO "NOT TOO HAPPY"), BY GRADE AND RACE

Race	Grade	
	Fifth	Tenth
White	77 (971)[a]	79 (535)
Black	64 (937)	63 (506)

[a] Number in parentheses is the weighted total of schools on which the mean percentage is based.

TABLE 5.10

RACE, REGION, AND SELF-REPORT OF HAPPINESS IN A 1972 ADULT NATIONAL SAMPLE

(Per Cent "Very Happy" or "Pretty Happy")

Race	Census Region		Total
	South	Other	
White	87 (340)	85 (1,002)	85 (1,342)
Nonwhite . . .	73 (157)	75 (107)	74 (264)
Q[a] =	+.42	+.31	+.33

Total	1,606
No answer	7
	1,613

[a] Q has a value of .00 when the variables are statistically independent, a maximum of +1.00 for the strongest possible positive association, and a minimum of -1.00 for the strongest possible negative association.

We see the same trend in the national adult data. Among whites, 85 per cent give a high morale response; among blacks, the figure is 74 per cent. The relationship appears a bit stronger in the South, but testing for a significant difference in the Q coefficients shows that the regional difference in the coefficients can be attributed to sampling fluctuation. If one is willing to assume that the mean of the school percentages is essentially the same as the percentage for all students (a not unreasonable assumption here), we can compare the data in Tables 5.9 and 5.10. The race differences (Q = +.38 for tenth graders, +.31 for the fifth graders in Table 5.9) are just about the same as in the adult data, although all the percentages are lower. This could indicate a lower morale for both groups of students compared with the adult population, but it is more probable that the difference comes from a well-known tendency to give more socially desirable answers in a face-to-face interview than in a paper and pencil questionnaire. We would interpret these results as follows: there is a racial difference in happiness in both tenth and fifth grade samples; its magnitude is just about the same as that found in the general adult population. For our purposes, the happiness percentages were dichotomized at 64 per cent for blacks and 79 per cent for whites, giving an essentially 50-50 split at both grade levels.

The more specific measure of morale is self-explanatory:

Fifth grade: "Do you usually hate school?" (I usually hate school, I usually don't hate school)

Tenth grade: "Do you usually hate school?" (Yes, No)

Taking school means for the per cent checking a low morale answer ("I usually hate school" for fifth grade, "yes" for tenth), we see a grade difference, but no consistent effect by race. Table 5.11 gives the figures.

Table 5.11 says that in the typical school in the study, about one-third of the students say they hate school, with disaffection being a bit stronger in the fifth grades. For our analyses, we reversed the direction (i.e., the percentage who say they don't hate school), using cutting points of 65 per cent for tenth grades and 60 per cent for the fifth grades. This gives us the following percentages of schools scoring high for the variable, "liking school" : 46 per cent, fifth grade blacks; 40 per cent , fifth grade whites; 62 per cent, tenth grade blacks; 53 per cent, tenth grade whites.

TABLE 5.11

MEAN PER CENT OF STUDENTS PER SCHOOL REPORTING THEY "USUALLY HATE SCHOOL," BY GRADE AND RACE

Race	Grade	
	Fifth	Tenth
White	43 (971)[a]	35 (536)
Black	46 (937)	32 (506)

[a] Number in parentheses is the weighted total of schools on which the mean percentage is based.

3) Race Relations

Race relations is an obvious third topic. We will be asking whether various aspects of the desegregation process are associated with interracial friendships and attitudes toward integrated schools. Interracial friendship levels were measured by these items:

Fifth grade:	"Think of your three best friends in the fifth grade in this school. Are they all the same race as you or is one or more of a different race?" (Yes, all same race as me; No, one or more is of a different race)
Tenth grade:	"Think for a moment about the three students you talk with most often at this school. Are they the same race as you?" (Yes, all same race as me; No, one or more is from another race)

Table 5.12 gives the school means by grade and race. The results presented in this table show the strongest race and grade differences of any

measures discussed in this section. Taken at face value, they show higher rates of cross-race contact in the fifth grade than in the tenth, and higher rates for blacks than for whites. In addition the rates for tenth grade whites seem especially low, suggesting some sort of interaction effect in the correlations.

TABLE 5.12

MEAN PER CENT OF STUDENTS PER SCHOOL REPORTING ONE OR MORE OPPOSITE-RACE ASSOCIATES, BY GRADE AND RACE

Race	Grade	
	Fifth	Tenth
White . .	43 (971)[a]	18 (537)
Black . .	52 (937)	35 (506)

[a] Number in parentheses is the weighted total of schools on which the mean percentage is based.

The data cry out for discussion and interpretation, but we shall limit ourselves to noting the following problems of interpretation:

1) The tenth grade and fifth grade questions are far from identical in wording.

2) In most of the schools, whites outnumber blacks, which gives black students more mathematical possibilities for cross-race associations.

3) Grade differences could come from decreasing cross-race contacts as students become older or from the entry of more "liberal" younger cohorts into the school systems.

4) The fifth grade pattern of concentrating studies in one room is different from the high school pattern of moving from class to class. It is possible that even in highly desegregated high schools, students' classes are essentially mono-racial.

Such matters prompt us to judicious silence on the import of the differences in Table 5.12. Technically, however, they force us to give a different cutting point for each of the four groups: we used 18 per cent for tenth grade whites, 35 per cent for tenth grade blacks, 42 per cent for fifth grade whites, and 51 per cent for fifth grade blacks. This gave us close to 50-50 splits in each of the four data sets.

As a measure of attitudes we used the following question:

> "If you could choose the kind of school you would go to,
> would you pick one with--
>
> All white students
> All black students
> A mixture of different kinds of students
> Other"

Identical wording was used in both grades, save for the absence of "Other" in the fifth grade list of responses.

Taking the per cent checking "A mixture of different kinds of students" as an index of pro-integration attitudes, we get the pattern, by grade and race, shown in Table 5.13: integration attitudes show a race difference but no grade trend. In both grade levels, clear majorities of blacks prefer integrated schools, while white approval runs a shade under 50 per cent in the average school.

TABLE 5.13

MEAN PER CENT OF STUDENTS PER SCHOOL PREFERRING
"A MIXTURE OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF STUDENTS"

Race	Grade	
	Fifth	Tenth
White . . .	47 (951)[a]	42 (537)
Black . . .	57 (1,030)	62 (506)

[a] Number in parentheses is the weighted total of schools on which the mean percentage is based.

All four scores were given the same cutting point, 50 per cent. This gives the following variation in the per cent of schools scored high: fifth grade blacks, 69 per cent; tenth grade blacks, 78 per cent; fifth grade whites, 46 per cent; tenth grade whites, 34 per cent.

4) Academic Achievement

We were interested in seeing whether mode of desegregation variables were associated with academic achievement. The tests constructed for the project are explained in detail elsewhere in this report and we need only say that they are short forms of conventional "standardized tests." For this chapter we used the reading subtest and the mathematics subtest. Because different tests were used in the fifth and tenth grades, and because of the substantial race differences, we simply dichotomized each data set differently to give essentially 50-50 splits. The cutting points were as follows:

Reading: fifth grade white, 63; fifth grade black, 37;
tenth grade white, 59; 10th grade black, 33

Math: fifth grade white, 79; fifth grade black, 47;
tenth grade white, 48; tenth grade black, 20

In each case, a high score was assigned to schools with a mean equal to or greater than the cutting point, a low score to schools with a mean under it.

Methodology

The method of analysis for this chapter is straightforward: we will examine correlations between the independent (busing) variables and the dependent measures of tensions, morale, race relations, and academic achievement, introducing appropriate controls to test for spurious associations. Less obvious is the rule to use for deciding whether a particular correlation is "present" or "absent." Tests of significance are important, but have some limitations in these data. Since the schools are not a simple random sample from a clearly defined universe, since the data we worked with are weighted, and since a large number of correlations were run, we cannot rely solely on chi-square tests. More important is the problem of consistency. What shall we say about "morale" if it should turn out that "happiness," but not "liking school," is correlated with busing among tenth graders, but not fifth graders? Statistically, such a pattern of findings can be treated as a higher-order interaction effect, but the interpretation of such relationships is very murky in our present data. To avoid such problems we made the following decisions before tabulations were made:

1) We required that the results for the fifth and tenth grades agree before a finding was accepted. Granted that there are important maturational and cohort differences in five years among adolescents, we were unable to predict ahead of time how they would affect the relationships analyzed, and were sure that it would be all too easy to do so after the fact.

2) We required that the results for the two indicators of each concept agree before a finding was accepted. Take, for example, the tension measures. It could happen that busing would affect integration problems without affecting perceived tension levels, but a serious problem that doesn't change the level of tension in a school is serious in such a limited sense that it doesn't tell us much about the policy concerns that prompted the research. Or again, take race relations. If attending a neighborhood school affects interracial friendships but not attitudes toward integration, something may be going on, but it isn't something that makes much sense in terms of common intuition or social science theory. The decision is one of those rare situations of taking one's own advice.[7]

3) We did not require consistent findings across races because there is good reason to suspect that many of the variables will work in different or opposite ways in the two racial groups.

4) In terms of magnitude, we required that the zero-order Q coefficients have an average absolute value of .20. This is a bit above the conventional .10 magnitude rule of thumb,[8] but helps to avoid situations such as .05 + .05 + .05 + .25, which average to .10. Sample calculations indicate that a zero-order Q of .20 or stronger will be unambiguously significant at the .05 level in a sample size of 555, the total number of schools in the study.

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[7] Ibid., p. 172.

[8] Ibid., p. 49.

Findings

1) Social Tensions

Table 5.14 shows the zero-order associations between the five desegregation variables and the two tension measures in the fifth and tenth grades. For four of the predictors--per cent black, nearest school white, nearest school black, and busing per se black--there are no appreciable associations. The one apparent exception, nearest school black, illustrates the application of our methodological principle. There is a positive association between few desegregation problems reported and the per cent of black fifth graders attending the nearest school, but it does not turn up in the tenth grade, and there are essentially zero results for the "no tension" variable. Thus, we treat this lone coefficient as a fluke.

TABLE 5.14

ZERO-ORDER ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN BUSING VARIABLES AND SOCIAL TENSION ITEMS

Busing Variable	Tension Measures				Average
	Few Desegregation Problems		No Tensions		
	Fifth Grade	Tenth Grade	Fifth Grade	Tenth Grade	
Busing Per Se:					
Whites . . .	+.21	+.57	-.03	+.38	[+.28]
Blacks . . .	+.07	-.09	+.06	-.12	-.02
Nearest School:					
Whites . . .	.00	-.04	+.01	.00	-.01
Blacks . . .	+.33	-.02	+.04	-.10	+.06
Per Cent Black	-.07	+.18	+.03	+.14	+.07

Busing of whites does show some trends. It has an average association of +.28, and three out of four coefficients are greater than .20. The -.03 for the no tensions variable for fifth grade is an embarrassment, but since the other three relationships are unambiguous, we will relax our rule and pay some attention to the finding. Thus, perhaps contrary to one's expectations, the busing of white students appears to be associated with lower levels of social tensions in the schools.

Before accepting the proposition, however, we should introduce some control variables. Urbanism is an obvious candidate, but two others are worth attention. The first is racial change. It could happen that findings in our data are due to sudden social change, rather than its content; or that they are temporary relationships that only obtain during transition periods. To examine this possibility we used Question 16 from the principal's questionnaire, "Has the racial (or ethnic) composition of your student population changed since the 1970-71 school year?" (Yes, No). Among the fifth grade principals, 49 per cent said "Yes"; at the tenth grade level, 40 per cent said "Yes."

A second possibility involves community-level variables. If there is a considerable amount of uproar about desegregation in the local community, there might be effects on tensions, morale, and other variables that would produce spurious correlations with modes of desegregation. Our measure of this variable is an index formed from four items in the community leader schedule (the interviews with samples of community leaders are described elsewhere in this report). The index combines answers to four questions on resistance to desegregation by districts in general, local political leaders, white business leaders, and organized whites. High scores on the index indicate high levels of community resistance. We dichotomized the index at the arbitrary value of 28 per cent, which gives 62 per cent high scores for fifth grades and 58 per cent high scores for tenth grades.

Controlling for these three outside variables--urbanism, racial change, and community resistance--we reran the original relationships within categories of the control variable, obtaining partial Q's for the original association. The four partial Q's (two grades by two measures) were then averaged. Because of the possibility that small cell sizes in the tabulations could affect the results, the data were also calculated ignoring cells in which the "expected" value for the original relationship was less than five cases.

Table 5.15 shows whether these controls affect the association between tension and busing whites. We find that the three control variables have no effect on the relationship. From this, we draw these conclusions:

> Busing of white students is, if anything, associated with lower tension levels in the sample schools.
>
> None of the other mode of desegregation variables appear to be associated in any way with a school's level of tension.

TABLE 5.15

AVERAGE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN BUSING WHITES AND TENSION MEASURES CONTROLLING FOR URBANISM, RACIAL CHANGE, AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

Control	Average of the Coefficients	
	All Cells	Small Cells Excluded
None (See Table 5.14) . . .	+.28	--
Urbanism	+.25	+.25
Urbanism and racial change .	+.26	+.26
Urbanism and community resistance	+.25	+.25

2) Student Morale

Table 5.16 gives the zero-order associations between busing variables and the two measures of student morale--happiness and liking school. Only one relationship meets the consistency test. There is an average correlation of -.23 between the per cent black in the school and the morale of white students. Possibly, minority status in a school population lowers morale, but this more abstract formulation implies a reverse correlation among black students. Table 5.16 provides little support for the inference. The average coefficient is only +.11 and the two happiness correlations are essentially zero.

TABLE 5.16

ZERO-ORDER ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN BUSING VARIABLES AND MORALE ITEMS

Morale Item	Busing Variable				Per Cent Black
	Busing Per Se		Nearest School		
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	
Black Students:					
Happy					
Fifth grade	+.11	-.10	-.07	+.10	+.01
Tenth grade	-.13	-.06	-.26	+.01	-.06
Like School					
Fifth grade	-.01	-.03	+.09	+.08	+.18
Tenth grade	-.03	-.03	-.37	+.14	+.32
Average . . .	-.02	-.06	-.15	+.08	+.11
White Students:					
Happy					
Fifth grade	-.05	+.13	+.18	-.21	-.19
Tenth grade	-.18	+.14	+.07	-.06	-.27
Like School					
Fifth grade	-.23	-.08	+.05	-.09	-.07
Tenth grade	-.01	-.32	+.02	+.16	-.40
Average . . .	-.12	-.03	+.08	-.05	[-.23]

Controls for urbanism, racial change, and community resistance do not change the situation much (Table 5.17). How and why the relationship obtains is beyond the assignment of this analysis, but the finding does merit one comment: if integration does have a negative effect on the morale of white students, the mode of integration--busing, failure to attend a neighborhood school--is not the source. Rather, it is some aspect of the integration process within the school doors. We can draw the following conclusions:

> Among white students (but not blacks) morale is negatively associated with the per cent black in the school.
>
> Busing per se and attending neighborhood schools have no relationship with morale in either racial group.

TABLE 5.17

AVERAGE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PER CENT BLACK AND MORALE MEASURES FOR WHITE STUDENTS, CONTROLLING FOR URBANISM, RACIAL CHANGE, AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

Control	Average of the Coefficients	
	All Cells	Small Cells Excluded
None (See Table 5.16)	-.23	--
Urbanism	-.25	-.25
Urbanism and racial change . . .	-.25	-.25
Urbanism and community resistance	-.21	-.21

3) Race Relations

Table 5.18 reports the zero-order correlations for the busing variables and the two measures of race relations--cross-race associates, and favorability toward integrated schools. The results in Table 5.18 are more complex than for the previous variables, so we shall proceed item by item.

a) There is no consistent association between white busing and race relations items in either racial group.

b) Busing of black students is associated with poor race relations scores among white students, with an average Q of -.30.

c) Busing of black students shows a negative trend among black students too. The average Q, -.19, is below our criterion level, but we will relax our rule because of the similar finding among whites.

d) Attending a neighborhood school (low scores on "nearest school") shows negative associations with good race relations in 16 of 18 coefficients across race, grade, and item, but the magnitudes are so small that they do not meet our decision rule.

e) The per cent black shows a variety of inconsistent associations that have no simple interpretation.

TABLE 5.18

ZERO-ORDER ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN BUSING VARIABLES AND RACE RELATIONS ITEMS

Race Relations Item[a]	Busing Variable				Per Cent Black
	Busing Per Se		Nearest School		
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	
Black Students:					
Attitude					
Fifth grade .	+.28	-.33	-.19	-.12	+.05
Tenth grade .	-.01	-.15	-.21	-.01	+.13
Associates					
Fifth grade .	-.06	-.13	-.07	-.22	-.33
Tenth grade .	-.08	-.14	-.11	-.34	-.48
Average	+.03	[-.19]	-.14	-.17	-.16
White Students:					
Attitude					
Fifth grade .	-.15	-.16	-.06	-.04	-.08
Tenth grade .	+.06	-.37	-.06	-.37	-.53
Associates					
Fifth grade .	+.05	-.36	-.25	+.03	+.38
Tenth grade .	-.29	-.33	-.21	-.32	-.04
Average	-.08	[-.30]	-.14	-.18	-.07

[a] Items are scored so that having cross-race associates and favoring integrated schools are positive.

Applying the rule of consistency and magnitude, only one finding emerges: black busing is associated with poor race relations among whites, and probably among blacks.

Before discussing the finding, it is necessary to consider urbanism, since it is associated with both black busing and with race relations. Table 5.7 showed Q's between urbanism and black busing of -.71 at the tenth grade and -.72 at the fifth grade level, the highest correlations in that table. Table 5.19 shows associations between urbanism and race relations.[9]

TABLE 5.19

ZERO-ORDER ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN URBANISM AND RACE RELATIONS ITEMS

Students	Attitude		Associates		Average
	Fifth Grade	Tenth Grade	Fifth Grade	Tenth Grade	
Black .	+.21	+.61	+.08	+.15	+.26
White .	+.19	+.77	+.29	+.73	+.50

Since rural schools have less favorable race relations and much higher levels of black busing, it may be that the correlations between black busing and poor race relations variables among whites will disappear when urbanism is controlled. Table 5.20 presents the results.

Controlling for urbanism does have an impact on the relationship, reducing the average coefficient from -.30 to -.13 among whites and -.19 to -.08 among blacks. Neither racial change nor community resistance variables seem to do much, nor does a new control variable, SES. The SES indices, defined elsewhere in the report, combine items such as air conditioner in the home, home ownership, and newspaper subscriptions, to assess the socioeconomic status of the students. We have not discussed the item before because tabulations not presented here showed that it had nothing to do with the findings presented up to this point.

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[9] Tabulations not reported here show no strong or consistent associations between urbanism and the morale or tension items.

TABLE 5.20

AVERAGE ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN BLACK BUSING AND RACE RELATIONS ITEMS AMONG BLACKS AND WHITES, CONTROLLING FOR URBANISM, RACIAL CHANGE, AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

Control	Average of Coefficients	
	All Cells	Small Cells Excluded
Whites:		
None (See Table 5.18) . .	-.30	--
Urbanism	-.13	-.12
Urbanism and racial change	-.15	-.17
Urbanism and community resistance	-.15	-.16
Urbanism and SES of whites	-.09	-.10
Urbanism and SES of blacks	-.09	-.10
Blacks:		
None (See Table 5.18) .	-.19	--
Urbanism	-.08	-.08
Urbanism and racial change	-.11	-.20
Urbanism and community resistance	-.11	-.23
Urbanism and SES of whites	-.08	-.16
Urbanism and SES of blacks	-.10	-.10

In summary, urbanism almost explains the correlation. Most of the relationship between black busing and bad race relations among whites and blacks is due to urbanism. We add to our list of conclusions:

> Schools where more black students are bused tend to have less favorable race relations scores among white and probably black students, but the bulk of this association can be explained by urbanism.

> White busing, attending a neighborhood school, and the per cent black have no clear-cut associations with race relations.

4) Academic Achievement

Table 5.21 presents the basic data on achievement. Three relationships meet the criteria:

> There is a negative association between per cent black and black achievement. The greater the per cent of blacks in the school, the lower the test scores of black students (a similar trend among whites does not meet the magnitude criterion).
>
> White busing has a negative association with achievement. In schools where more whites travel by bus, the scores of whites (but not blacks) are lower.
>
> There is a negative association between nearest school blacks and white achievement. The test scores of white students tend to be lower when they attend schools "in black neighborhoods."

TABLE 5.21

ZERO-ORDER ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN BUSING VARIABLES AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT TESTS

Achievement	Busing Variable				Per Cent Black
	Busing Per Se		Nearest School		
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	
Black Students:					
Reading					
Fifth grade	-.16	-.37	-.14	-.36	-.15
Tenth grade	-.09	.03	.02	.04	-.29
Math					
Fifth grade	.00	.03	-.14	.03	-.01
Tenth grade	.11	-.30	-.08	.15	-.40
Average	-.04	-.15	-.09	-.04	[-.21]
White Students:					
Reading					
Fifth grade	-.33	.03	-.25	-.38	-.26
Tenth grade	-.38	-.25	-.08	-.18	-.14
Math					
Fifth grade	-.08	.04	.05	-.09	-.14
Tenth grade	-.32	-.13	.16	-.25	-.05
Average	[-.28]	-.08	-.03	[-.23]	-.15

Before discussing or interpreting these findings, let us introduce the standard package of controls. These figures are given in Table 5.22.

TABLE 5.22

AVERAGE ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN BUSING ITEMS AND ACHIEVEMENT UNDER VARIOUS CONTROLS

Control	Association		
	Per Cent Black and Black Achievement	White Busing and White Achievement	Nearest School Black and White Achievement
None (See Table 5.21)	-.21	-.28	-.23
Urbanism . . .	-.17	-.20	-.13
Urbanism and racial change	-.12	-.18	-.10
Urbanism and community resistance .	-.20	-.15	-.11
Urbanism and black SES . .	-.06	-.11	-.14
Urbanism and white SES . .	-.06	-.09	-.15
Urbanism and nearest school--black	--	-.13	--
Urbanism and busing--white	--	--	-.13

Table 5.22 is difficult to interpret since it has important policy implications and the interpretation depends upon how one reads differences in coefficients that amount to two or three units in the second decimal. We read it like this:

> The association between racial composition and black achievement is pretty well explained by socioeconomic status. When one controls for either black or white SES levels, the average coefficient shifts from -.21 to -.06, an essentially trivial value.

> The association between white busing and white achievement is fairly well explained by urbanism and SES. When urbanism is controlled, the relationship drops from -.28 to -.20, and when both urbanism and SES are controlled, it drops to about -.10.
>
> The association between nearest school black and white achievement is lowered from -.23 to -.13 when urbanism is controlled, but the impact of other controls is unclear.[10]

These findings lead to the following conclusions:

> Achievement of black students is not directly affected by any of the busing variables.
>
> For white students, attending school in black neighborhoods is associated with lower academic performance, but attending school in one's own neighborhood is not associated with academic performance.

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter we examined correlations between five aspects of busing--bus transportation per se for whites, bus transportation per se for blacks, attending nearest school for whites, attending nearest school for blacks, and per cent black--and four dependent variables--tension levels in the schools, student morale, race relations, and academic achievement--controlling for urbanism, racial change in the school, community resistance to desegregation, and socioeconomic status. The findings can be summarized as shown in Table 5.23.

---

[10] The failure of white SES to further lower this partial association, as it did in the other two columns of Table 5.21, makes this finding appear suspect. Narot's finding in Working Paper 4 is that using multiple regression to eliminate the effect of white social status eliminates entirely any negative effects attributable to attending a predominantly black school, leaving a slight positive partial association. When Narot's statistical model (multiple regression with undichotomized variables) is used to replicate the tabulations of Table 5.21, the effect on white achievement of attending a school in a black neighborhood becomes positive for both high school tests, remains negative for one fifth grade test, and is zero for the other, indicating no overall effect. (See Appendix 2 to this paper, p. 125.) It seems likely that the difficulty here is that the association between being in school in a black neighborhood and white social class is strongly negative--the whites in ghetto schools being very poor--and that collapsing social class to a dichotomy weakens its effect as a control variable. As we noted in Chapter 2 of Volume I (p. 68), one should be wary of unreliability in control variables causing their effects to be understated.

R.L.C.

TABLE 5.23

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL FINDINGS

Variable	Busing Per Se		Nearest School		Per Cent Black
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	
Low Tensions	+.28	--	--	--	--
Morale:					
Blacks	--	--	--	--	--
Whites	--	--	--	--	-.23
Race Relations:					
Blacks	--	-.19[a]	--	--	--
Whites	--	-.30[b]	--	--	--
Academic Achievement:					
Blacks	--	--	--	--	-.21[b]
Whites	-.28[b]	--	--	-.13[c]	--

[a] Artifact of urban-rural differences.

[b] Artifact of urban-rural and SES differences.

[c] Controlling for rural-urban differences.

Note: Dashes (--) indicate original relationship too small or inconsistent to warrant further analysis.

We draw the following conclusions from Table 5.23:

1. On the average, busing variables are not strongly related to the dependent variables chosen. Of 35 possible findings, 27 showed no acceptable zero-order correlations, four are spurious effects of urbanism or SES, and the three "survivors" show coefficients ranging from .13 to .28 in magnitude.

2. The two best supported findings in the analysis are these:

   a) There is a positive correlation between white busing and low tension levels in the schools.

   b) There is a negative association between white morale and the per cent black in the school.

3. A third relationship meets our criteria, although it is marginal in strength and not fully supported when the same data are analyzed by multiple regression techniques:

> There is a negative association between white achievement and attending school in black neighborhoods.

Taken as a whole, we believe these results lead to three more general conclusions, two favorable to integrationists and one favorable to "anti-busers."

First, there is no evidence that busing per se has any negative consequences. On the contrary, the strongest finding in the set is the association between busing white students and benign levels of tension in the schools.

Second, there is no evidence that attending one's own neighborhood school has any effects, positive or negative, on a school's achievement levels or social climate.

Third, there is evidence for two negative consequences of integration for white students: lower morale when they are in schools with greater proportions of black students, and lower academic achievement when they attend schools in black neighborhoods.

In our opinion, this boils down to one false issue and one dilemma. The false issue is busing, neighborhood schools, and similar euphemisms. We are quite persuaded that these data show no psychological or academic advantage to schools within walking distance and no deleterious consequences of transportation long distances by bus. The dilemma revealed in these figures (and in many other studies) is how to balance the academic advantages of integration for blacks (shown here by the white SES effects on black achievement) with the apparent negative effects on white morale and the lowering of white achievement when integration involves schools in black neighborhoods.

We are not about to solve that dilemma; it merits a crash program of intensive effort by many social scientists. We can state emphatically, however, that we will all be better off if we concentrate on the real and terrible problems of desegregation rather than discussing the ridiculous and hypocritical proposition that there is something psychologically or academically edifying in children going to school on foot.

APPENDIX 1

On the Agreement between Coefficients of Association

The analysis in this chapter used cross-tabulation tables and the coefficient of association, Yule's Q, while most of the other working papers in the report use multiple regression techniques. This decision was based on taste and training as were the decisions of the other authors, for there seems to be no authoritative rule for choosing between these two popular styles of analysis, despite years of controversy among methodologists.

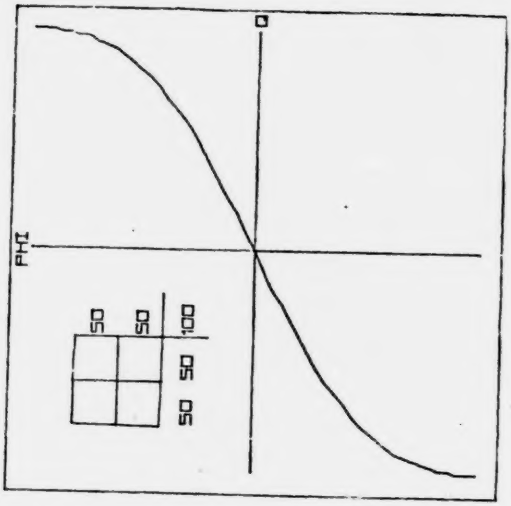
The crucial point is whether the research worker will draw different conclusions from different coefficients. If not, the issues dwindle to highly technical matters such as the "power" of the tests. But if different conclusions from different coefficients are possible, the reader should be alerted to this problem.

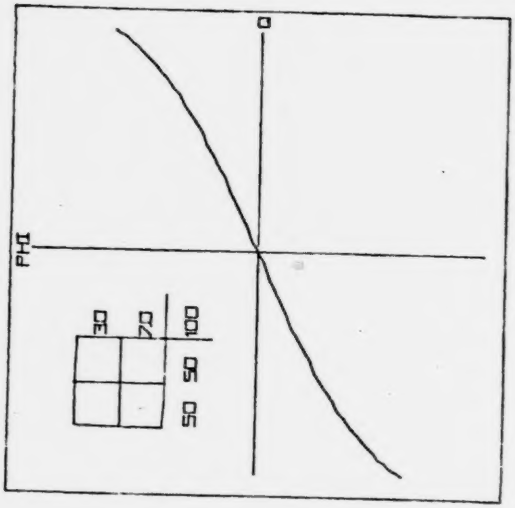
For fourfold tables (cross-tabulation of two dichotomies), the matter has a clear answer, since the formulas for Q and phi (the product moment correlation coefficient applied to a fourfold table) are rather similar. Edmund Dean Meyers of Dartmouth College, in an unpublished computer simulation, has worked this out with the following main conclusions:

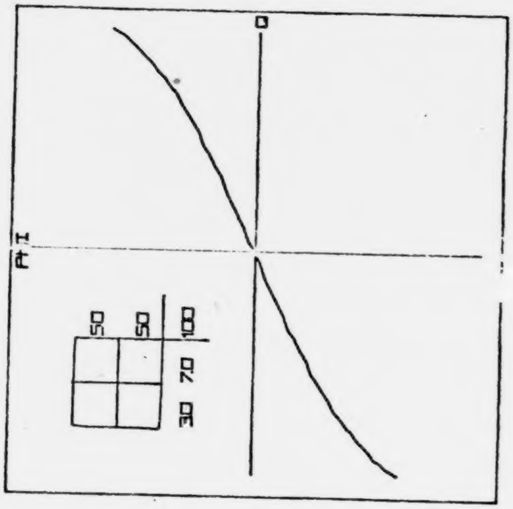
1) If both items are cut 50-50 (as we tried here), the two coefficients will be quite similar for low relationships, Q will have a greater magnitude for strong relationships, and at the extreme they will converge as they head toward 1.00 for a perfect relationship.

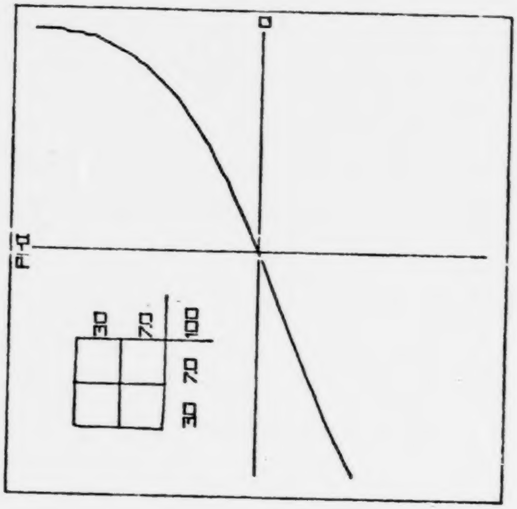
2) If one or both of the items are skewed (e.g., cut 30-70 or 10-90), phi will be depressed in value vis-a-vis Q (at least for one of the signs, positive or negative), because skewed marginals create a ceiling for phi, which often cannot reach 1.000 even when the association is maximal.

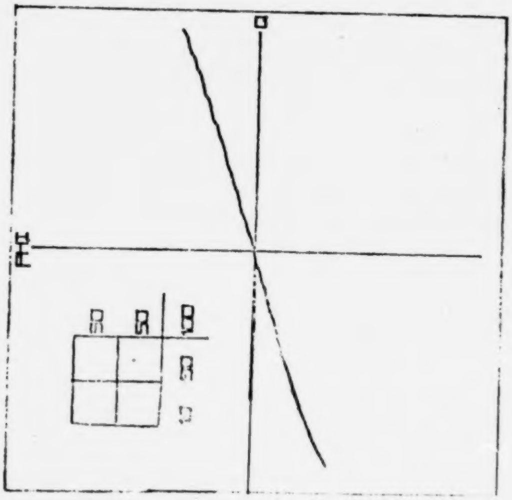
Figure A.1 is a copy of a computer graphic presentation developed by Meyers that is well worth study.

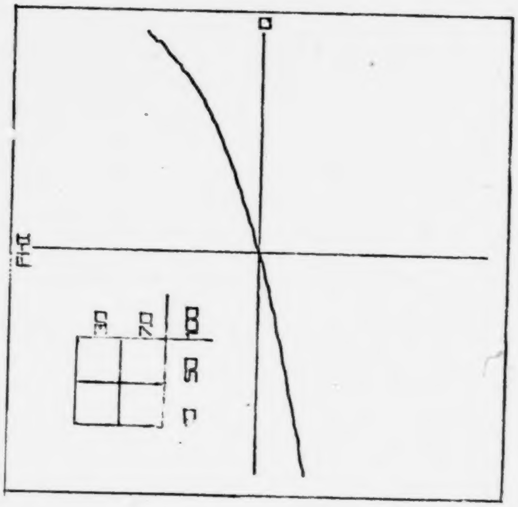












E. Meyers 10/27/72

The main difference when using fourfold tables is that non-trivial Q's will have larger magnitudes. Q's and phi's should never be compared directly. Since regression analysts seldom use fourfold tables, the more interesting question is the agreement between analyzing the data (1) using Q and a fourfold table and (2) using r, a product moment correlation calculated on the raw (ungrouped) data. This is a much more difficult question. Although there are a number of mathematical papers on the topic, the authors must make such strong assumptions about the underlying distributions in attempting to resolve the question that not much can be learned from them. We decided to simply compare Q's and r's for the variables studied in this paper. Specifically, we reran the relationships in Tables 5.14, 5.16, 5.18, and 5.21, and calculated the average r, instead of the average Q. Table A.1 gives the results.

TABLE A.1

AVERAGE Q AND AVERAGE R FOR MAIN RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PAPER

Variable	Average	Busing		Nearest School		Per Cent Black
		Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	
Tensions	Q	+.28	-.02	-.01	+.06	+.07
	R	+.12	+.05	+.03	+.12	-.08
Morale:						
Blacks	Q	-.02	-.06	-.15	+.08	+.11
	R	-.02	-.06	-.08	+.12	+.09
Whites	Q	-.12	-.03	+.08	-.05	-.23
	R	-.06	-.01	+.06	-.06	-.16
Race Relations:						
Blacks	Q	+.03	-.19	-.14	-.17	-.16
	R	-.04	-.07	-.14	-.05	-.15
Whites	Q	-.08	-.30	-.14	-.18	-.07
	R	-.10	-.24	-.20	-.09	+.16
Achievement:						
Blacks	Q	-.04	-.15	-.09	-.04	-.21
	R	-.13	-.13	-.08	-.03	-.14
Whites	Q	-.28	-.08	-.03	-.23	-.15
	R	-.12	-.02	-.09	-.13	-.15

Table A.1 may be analyzed by either approach. We start with a table cross-tabulating the two values (Table A.2). There is a definite, but hardly spectacular agreement between the two coefficients, and only one clear outlyer--per cent black and white race relations--where the average Q is -.07 and the average R is +.16. If we go back to the original data, we see the following:

TABLE A.2

CROSS-TABULATION OF DATA IN TABLE A.1

Value of Q	Value of R													
	-.30 or less	-.25 -.29	-.20 -.24	-.15 -.19	-.10 -.14	-.05 -.09	-.01 -.04	.01 .04	.05 .09	.10 .14	.15 .19	.20 .24	.25 .29	.30 or more
+.30 or more														
+.25 .29										1				
+.20 .24														
+.15 .19									1					
+.10 .14														
+.05 .09						1			1	2				
+.01 .04							1							
-.01-.04					1	1	3	1	1					
-.05-.09					1	3	1				2			
-.10-.14					1	1								
-.15-.19			1	2	1	4								
-.20-.24				1	2									
-.25-.29					1									
-.30 or less			1											

	Attitude		Associates		Average
	Fifth	Tenth	Fifth	Tenth	
Q	-.08	-.53	+.38	-.04	-.07
R	.02	-.07	+.42	+.29	+.16

The discrepancy is coming from two tenth grade coefficients that are just different. Why? All we know is that we reran the fifth and tenth grade coefficients on the computer and got exactly the same values again. Shifting to the regression approach, we calculated the product moment correlation between the coefficients, obtaining an r of .760 ($r^2 = .5776$). It is our opinion that this amount of agreement between coefficients is about at the level of agreement for different items in a particular attitude scale. If so, we introduce about as much variation into our results by choice of measure of association as we do by choice of seemingly identical items.

But it is possible to take even less optimistic approaches to the data in Table A.1. Solid horizontal cutting points have been drawn in Table A.2. Inspection of the table shows that for the seven Q's we chose to take seriously (including the .19 for busing and black race relations), there would have been ten other relationships of essentially equal magnitude had we chosen to run r's instead and used cutting points that *guaranteed* the seven would be chosen (i.e., ±.10). This is troublesome indeed. There is no way to avoid saying that our conclusions about specific variables would have been rather different had we used the regression approach.

An equally troublesome result obtains if we take a closer look at the r of .760. The result follows from the fact that signs of correlations are rather arbitrary. If we reverse the meaning of "high" and "low" on one of the variables in a correlation, we will reverse the sign (+ to - or vice versa) without changing anything else. With this in mind, we can see how much of the r of .760 is coming from sheer agreement on signs and how much from agreement on magnitudes. We simply change all correlations that are minus for both r and Q to plus. This gives us an estimate of how much the two coefficients agree on a set of data where almost all the correlations have the same sign. The new results are r = .393, and $r^2 = .154$. The level of agreement on "pure" magnitude leaves a lot to be desired.

These results are frankly surprising and discouraging, especially since we have learned little about the reasons for the discrepancy. One hypothesis does emerge when we try the same procedure on the 30 relationships presented in Table 5.7. There, we get an r of .894 for the two coefficients, and an r of .685 even when the both negative relationships have been reversed to give the data essentially the same signs.

What is the difference between the data in Table 5.7 and those in Table A.1? Inspection of the two tables suggests this: In Table 5.7, there are more strong associations and also more associations that are near zero. Table A.1, in contrast, seems to be characterized by associations that are different from zero but not very strong; that is, by a plethora of low relationships. We infer the following hypothesis:

> Where the data contain strong variation in the magnitudes of the associations, Q and r will give much the same results.
>
> Where the data contain great clumps of low relationships, choice of coefficient introduces about as much variation in the final conclusions as choice of items.

Since the busing data are clearly in the latter category, in interpreting the data, the reader must bear in mind the problems outlined here.

APPENDIX 2

EFFECT OF ATTENDING A SCHOOL WHICH IS A "NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL" FOR BLACK STUDENTS, ON WHITE ACHIEVEMENT

(Standardized Regression Coefficients)

Independent Variable	Grade, Test			
	Fifth Grade		Tenth Grade	
	Reading	Math	Reading	Math
Nearest school for blacks	-.11	-.04	.05	.03
Urbanism of county . .	.13	.04	.03	.06
Educational level of county	.09	-.10	.04	-.12
White socioeconomic status	.58	.46	.57	.54

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRES

NAME OF PUPIL ________________________________

OMB No. 51-S72007
Approval expires December 31, 1972

norc

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

5th GRADE FORM

CONFIDENTIAL

National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

Survey 5038

April, 1972

OE Form No. 186-4

NCS Trans-Optic S370A-321

DIRECTIONS

THE RESEARCH WORKER WILL READ EACH QUESTION AND EACH POSSIBLE ANSWER. MARK YOUR ANSWER BY FILLING IN THE CIRCLE NEXT TO THE ANSWER THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOU OR WHAT YOU THINK. MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER FOR EACH QUESTION. IF YOU WISH TO CHANGE AN ANSWER, ERASE YOUR FIRST MARK COMPLETELY. USE ONLY A No. 2 OR SOFTER LEAD PENCIL.

EXAMPLE:

Are you in the fifth grade or in high school?

● Fifth grade
○ High school

YOU WOULD FILL IN THE FIRST CIRCLE, NEXT TO "FIFTH GRADE" FOR YOUR ANSWER.

1. What is your class number for this survey?

① Class number 1
② Class number 2
③ Class number 3
④ Class number 4
⑤ Class number 5 (28)

2. Are you a boy or a girl?

① Boy
② Girl (29)

3. How old are you now?

① 10 or under
② 11
③ 12
④ 13 or over (30)

4. Which of the following best describes you?

① Black, Negro
② White
③ American Indian
④ Chinese or Japanese (Oriental)
⑤ I am not any of these; (31)
I am ↓

Please print

DO NOT PRINT OUTSIDE BOX

5. Are you Mexican-American, Cuban, or Puerto Rican?

① No, none of these
② Yes, Mexican American
③ Yes, Cuban
④ Yes, Puerto Rican (32)

6. Did you go to kindergarten?

① Yes
② No (33)

7. Do you own a bicycle?

① Yes
② No (34)

8. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

① One
② Two
③ Three
④ Four
⑤ Five
⑥ Six
⑦ Seven
⑧ Eight or more
⑨ None (35)

9. Do you think you are better than most students at doing school work, about the same, or not as good as most students?

① Better
② About the same
③ Not as good (36)

10. Does the principal of this school know you by name?

① Yes
② No (37)

11. Is there any adult at this school you could talk to if you were upset or in trouble?

① Yes
② No (38)

12. Have you talked with a school counselor this school year?

① I talked with counselor
② I did not talk with counselor (39)

13. Have you ever talked to your teacher about something interesting you are doing that was not school work?

① Yes
② No (40)

14. Do you think you might want to be a teacher when you grow up?

① Yes
② No (41)

15. Has your mother or father visited school during this school year?

① Yes
② No (42)

16. Are you getting more help or less help from your parents with your school work now than in the beginning of this school year?

① More help
② Less help
③ Same amount of help (43)
④ My parents never have helped me with school work

17. Do you think your teacher likes you?

① Yes
② No (44)

18. If you could choose the kind of school you would go to, would you pick one with --

① All white students
② All black students
③ A mixture of different kinds of students (45)

19. In the 5th grade, have you studied anything about black people?

① Yes
② No (46)

20. Are any of the teachers in this school unfair to white students?

① Yes
② No
③ No white students in this school (47)

21. Are your parents satisfied with the grades you get in school?

① Yes
② No (48)

22. Do you live with both of your parents?

① Yes
② No (49)

23. What was the earliest grade you went to school with both black and white students?

① Kindergarten
② First
③ Second
④ Third
⑤ Fourth
⑥ Fifth
⑦ Never did (50)

24. How do your parents feel about you going to school with both black and white students?

① They like it
② They don't like it
③ It doesn't matter to them (51)

25. How do you think your teacher feels about black and white students going to the same school together?

① My teacher likes it
② My teacher doesn't like it
③ It doesn't matter to my teacher (52)

26. How about the principal of your school -- how do you think your principal feels about black and white students going to the same school together?

① The principal likes it
② The principal doesn't like it
③ It doesn't matter to the principal (53)

27. Think of your three best friends in the 5th grade in this school. Are they all the same race as you or is one or more of a different race?

① Yes, all same race as me
② No, one or more is of a different race (54)

28. Would you like to have more friends who are of a different race?

① Yes
② No (55)

29. Do you think the black students in this school cause a lot of trouble?

① Yes
② No
③ No black students in this school (56)

30. **Do you think the white students in this school cause a lot of trouble?**

① Yes
② No
③ No white students in this school (57)

31. **Are any of the teachers in this school unfair to black students?**

① Yes
② No
③ No black students in this school (58)

32. **Are you afraid of most grownups of a different race from you?**

① Yes
② No (59)

33. **In general, do you think that white people are smarter than black people, that black people are smarter than white people, or do you think that a person's color doesn't have anything to do with how smart he is?**

① White people are smarter
② Black people are smarter (60)
③ Color doesn't have anything to do with smartness

34. **Did anyone at home read to you when you were little -- before you started school?**

① Yes
② No (61)

35. **Does your family own their home?**

① Yes
② No (62)

36. **Does your family buy groceries with food stamps or get surplus food?**

① Yes
② No (63)

37. **In the past week, did you think any of your school work or homework was fun?**

① Yes
② No (64)

38. **Do you usually hate school?**

① I usually hate school
② I usually don't hate school (65)

39. **At school, are you often blamed for things that just aren't your fault?**

① Yes
② No (66)

40. **Do you like your teacher?**

① Yes
② No (67)

41. **Is reading too hard for you now?**

① Reading is too hard for me
② Reading is not too hard for me (68)

42. **Is arithmetic too hard for you now?**

① Yes
② No (69)

43. **Does your teacher or someone else at school give you special help with your reading?**

① Yes
② No (70)

44. **Do you think most of the rules in your classroom are fair?**

① Yes
② No (71)

45. **Is there a public elementary school closer to your house than this one?**

① Yes
② No (72)

46. **Think about the kids your age who live near you. Do many of them go to a different school, or do they almost all go to this school?**

① Many go to another school
② Almost all of them go to this school (73)

47. Are you satisfied with yourself?

① Yes
② No (74)

48. When a teacher says that she is going to give the class a test, do you become afraid that you will do poor work?

① Yes
② No (75)

49. Are some kids just naturally lucky?

① Yes
② No (76)

50. Do you think you can do things as well as most students can?

① Yes
② No (77)

51. Do you feel like you don't really belong in this school?

① Yes
② No (78)

52. Do you think most people are better off than you are?

① Yes
② No (79)

53. When you take a test, do you get so nervous you can't think straight?

① Yes
② No (80)

54. Do you think good luck is just as important for success as hard work?

① Yes
② No (81)

55. Do you get really angry when teachers try to make you do things you don't want to do?

① Yes
② No (82)

56. Have you been in any fights at school this school year?

① I have been in fights
② I have not been in fights (83)

57. Does your family get a newspaper regularly?

① Yes
② No (84)

58. Do you think it doesn't pay to try hard because things don't turn out right anyway?

① Yes
② No (85)

59. When you make plans, are you almost sure you can make them work?

① Yes
② No (86)

60. Does your teacher spend a lot of time getting the kids to behave?

① Yes
② No (87)

61. Would you say you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?

① Very happy
② Pretty happy
③ Not too happy (88)

62. Do you think you will go to college?

① Yes
② No (89)

63. Were you a student at this school one year ago?

① Yes
② No (90)

64. How do you usually get to school?

① Walk or bicycle
② School bus
③ Car
④ Some other way (91)

65. What grade are you in now?

① Third grade
② Fourth grade
③ Fifth grade
④ Sixth grade
⑤ Seventh grade
⑥ Eighth grade (92)

DO NOT MARK

ON THIS PAGE

SURVEY TEST OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

5th GRADE FORM

PART I READING (100 - 109)

EXAMPLES
1 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
2 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

3 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
4 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
5 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
6 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
7 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
8 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
9 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
10 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
11 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
12 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

PART II MECHANICS OF WRITING (110 - 124)

EXAMPLES
13 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
14 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
15 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

16 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
17 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
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29 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
30 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

PART III MATHEMATICS COMPUTATION (125 - 136)

EXAMPLE
31 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

32 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
33 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
34 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
35 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
36 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
37 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
38 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
39 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
40 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
41 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
42 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
43 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

PART IV MATHEMATICS - BASIC CONCEPTS (137 - 146)

EXAMPLE
44 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

45 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
46 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
47 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ
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PART V SCIENCE (147 - 156)

EXAMPLE
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NAME OF PUPIL

OMB No. 51-S72007
Approval expires December 31, 1972

norc

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

10th GRADE FORM

CONFIDENTIAL

National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

Survey 5038

April, 1972

NCS Trans-Optic S370C 321

Dear Student:

Your answers to the questions in this booklet will help us learn how to improve schools. We are talking with school administrators, teachers, students, and people from the community in many places about this very important subject. All answers will be treated confidentially.

We hope you enjoy thinking about these questions.

Thank you for your help.

Robert L Crain

Robert L. Crain
Study Director

DIRECTIONS

READ EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY. MARK YOUR ANSWER BY FILLING IN THE CIRCLE NEXT TO THE ANSWER THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOU OR WHAT YOU THINK. MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER FOR EACH QUESTION. IF YOU WISH TO CHANGE AN ANSWER, ERASE YOUR FIRST MARK COMPLETELY. USE ONLY A No. 2, OR SOFTER, LEAD PENCIL.

EXAMPLE: Are you in the fifth grade or in high school?
○ Fifth grade
● High school

YOU WOULD FILL IN THE CIRCLE NEXT TO "HIGH SCHOOL" FOR YOUR ANSWER.

1. What is your class number for this survey?
   - ① Class 1
   - ② Class 2
   - ③ Class 3
   - ④ Class 4
   - ⑤ Class 5 (28)

2. Are you a male or a female?
   - ① Male
   - ② Female (29)

3. How old are you?
   - ① 14 or under
   - ② 15
   - ③ 16
   - ④ 17
   - ⑤ 18 or over (30)

4. Which of the following best describes you?
   - ① Black, Negro
   - ② White
   - ③ American Indian
   - ④ Chinese, Japanese (Oriental)
   - ⑤ I am not any of these; (31)

   I am →

   Please print:

   DO NOT PRINT OUTSIDE BOX

5. Are you Mexican-American, Cuban, or Puerto Rican?
   - ① No, none of these
   - ② Yes, Mexican-American
   - ③ Yes, Cuban
   - ④ Yes, Puerto Rican (32)

6. How much education does your mother have? (If you don't know, it's all right to guess.)
① Did not go to high school
② Went to high school but didn't graduate
③ Graduated from high school
④ Attended college (33)

7. Do you live with both of your parents?
① Yes
② No (34)

8. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
① One
② Two
③ Three
④ Four
⑤ Five
⑥ Six
⑦ Seven
⑧ Eight or more
⑨ None (35)

9. Does your family get a newspaper regularly?
① Yes
② No (36)

10. Does your family own their home?
① Yes
② No (37)

11. Does your home have an air conditioner?
① Yes
② No (38)

12. Are you a member of any school clubs or sports teams?
① Yes
② No (39)

13. Which one of the following best describes the program or curriculum you are enrolled in?
① Advanced or special college preparatory
② College preparatory
③ Business
④ Vocational
⑤ Work study
⑥ General
⑦ Other
⑧ Don't know (40)

14. Did you enter that program by your own choice, were you advised to enter it by teachers or counselors, or were you assigned to it?
① My own choice
② Advised by counselors or teachers
③ Assigned
④ Don't know (41)

15. During this school year, have you ever talked with a counselor?
① Yes
② No
③ Don't have a counselor (42)

16. Think about most of the work you have to do in school. Is it too hard, too easy, or just about right?
① Too hard
② Too easy
③ Just about right (43)

17. How do your parents feel about the grades you get in school?
① Very satisfied
② Somewhat satisfied
③ Somewhat dissatisfied
④ Very dissatisfied
⑤ I don't know (44)

18. Forget for a moment how teachers grade your school work. How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with those in your class at school?
① I am one of the best
② I am above average
③ I am average
④ I am below average
⑤ I am one of the poorest (45)

19. Do you think you have the ability to complete college?
① Definitely yes
② Probably yes
③ Probably no
④ Definitely no
⑤ Not sure either way (46)

20. How much time do you usually spend doing homework after school?
① None, or almost none
② Less than ½ hour a day
③ About ½ hour a day
④ About 1 hour a day
⑤ About 2 hours a day or more (47)

21. In the past week, did you do any school work or homework that was interesting?
① Yes
② No (48)

22. Have either of your parents come to school this year for PTA, parents' days, or for parent conferences?
① Yes
② No (4

23. When a teacher says that she is going to give the class a test, do you become afraid that you will do poor work?

① Yes
② No (50)

24. At school, are you often blamed for things that just aren't your fault?

① Yes
② No (51)

25. Was the elementary school you went to for the longest time --

① All white
② Mostly white
③ Mostly black
④ All black
⑤ Other (52)

26. Was the junior high school you went to for the longest time --

① All white
② Mostly white
③ Mostly black
④ All black
⑤ Other
⑥ Didn't go to junior high (53)

27. What about the first time you went to school with black and white students, either in elementary or junior high school; were you assigned to that school, or did you or your parents select it?

① I didn't go to elementary or junior high with black and white students
② I was assigned to that school
③ My parents or I selected that school
④ I don't know (54)

28. When you first started going to school with both black and white students, how did your parents feel about it?

① They liked it
② They didn't like it
③ It didn't matter to them
④ They were angry about it
⑤ Never went to a school with black and white students (55)

29. How do your parents feel now about your going to school with both black and white students? If you don't go to school with both black and white students, answer for how your parents feel about the idea.

① They like it
② They don't like it
③ It doesn't matter to them (56)

30. How about most of your teachers--how do you think they feel about blacks and whites going to the same school together?

① They like it
② They don't like it
③ It doesn't matter to them
④ Don't know (57)

31. How do you think your principal feels about blacks and whites going to the same school together?

① The principal likes it
② The principal doesn't like it
③ It doesn't matter to the principal
④ Don't know (58)

32. What about the student leaders and popular students at your school? How do they feel about black and white students going to the same school together?

① Most of them like it
② Most of them don't like it
③ Some like it, some don't
④ Don't know (59)

Here is a list of things that have happened in some schools. Please indicate whether or not each of these has happened at your school this school year.

(60 - 65)

Yes No

33. ① ② Groups of black students attacking white students.

34. ① ② Groups of white students attacking black students.

35. ① ② White students complaining that favoritism is being shown to black students.

36. ① ② Black students complaining about white racism -- favoritism to white students.

37. ① ② Tensions have made it hard for everyone.

38. ① ② The school pretends there are no problems.

39. Think for a moment about the three students you talk with most often at this school. Are they the same race as you?

① Yes, all same race as me.
② No, one or more is from another race (66)

40. Have you ever called a student of a different race on the phone?

① Yes
② No (67)

41. **This school year, have you helped a student from another race with school work?**
① Yes
② No (68)

42. **This school year, have you asked a student from another race to help you with your homework?**
① Yes
② No (69)

43. **If you could choose the kind of school you would go to, would you pick one with:**
① All white students
② All black students
③ A mixture of different kinds of students
④ Other (70)

44. **Do you think your friends would think badly of you if you went someplace after school with a student of a different race?**
① Yes
② No (71)

45. **Would you like to have more friends who are of a different race?**
① Yes
② No (72)

Below is a list of words. Think about most of the students of the other racial group in this school (not your own group) and mark whether or not each of the words describe students of the other race.

Does describe other group
Does not describe other group
Only one group in school

46. ① ② ③ Friendly (73)

47. ① ② ③ Keep to themselves (74)

48. ① ② ③ Dumb (75)

49. ① ② ③ Ambitious (76)

50. **Think about the students of a different race from you. Do you think they get special advantages around here?**
① Yes
② No
③ No students of a different race here (77)

51. **Are any of the teachers in this school unfair to black students?**
① Yes
② No
③ No black students (78)

52. **If you have a bi-racial student committee in your school, how effective has the committee been in solving problems that came up because different races are going to the same school?**
① No such committee
② Effective; it has helped
③ Somewhat effective; it has helped a small amount
④ It hasn't really accomplished anything
⑤ It has done as much harm as it has done good (79)

53. **How uncomfortable do you feel around students of a different race?**
① Generally very uncomfortable
② Generally somewhat uncomfortable
③ Occasionally somewhat uncomfortable
④ Not at all uncomfortable (80)

54. **How often do you have class discussions about intergroup relations?**
① About once a week or more often
② About once a month
③ Every few months
④ No such discussions so far (81)

Below is a list of words. Think about most of the students in this school in the same racial group as you are and mark whether or not each of the words describes students in your own group.

Does describe my group
Does not describe my group

55. ① ② Friendly (82)

56. ① ② Keep to themselves (83)

57. ① ② Dumb (84)

58. ① ② Ambitious (85)

59. **In general, do you think that white people are smarter than black people, that black people are smarter than white people, or do you think that a person's color doesn't have anything to do with how smart he is?**
① White people are smarter
② Black people are smarter
③ Color doesn't have anything to do with smartness (86)

60. **On the whole, how would you say things are working out with both blacks and whites in the school?**
① Almost no problems
② Some minor problems
③ Some serious problems
④ Many serious problems
⑤ School does not have both black and white students (87)

61. The way things are going between blacks and whites in this school, do you think things will be better or worse next year?
①Better
②Same
③Worse
④School does not have both black and white students
(88)

62. Are any of the teachers in this school unfair to white students?
①Yes
②No
③No white students (89)

Think of the one adult you like best in this school. Now answer three questions about this person.

63. First, are you thinking of a man or woman?
①Man
②Woman (90)

64. Second, what job does the adult you like best have?
①A regular teacher
②An assistant to a teacher
③A counselor
④The principal
⑤Assistant principal
⑥A guard or policeman
⑦Some other job (91)

65. Third, is your favorite adult white or black?
①White
②Black
③Other (92)

66. Have you discussed women's liberation in any of your classes this school year?
①Yes
②No (93)

67. Have you discussed the war between India and Pakistan in any of your classes this school year?
①Yes
②No (94)

68. Have you ever talked to any of your teachers or other adults here at school about things you are doing outside of school -- your job, a hobby, or something you are really interested in?
①Yes
②No (95)

69. Has any adult here at school ever told you, personally, not to quit high school?
①Yes
②No (96)

70. Has any adult here at school ever told you, personally, that you should go to college?
①Yes
②No (97)

Here is a list of people. In each case, mark whether the person was white or black. If you don't know, mark "Don't know."

① White
② Black
③ Don't know

71. ①②③ John Wilkes Booth (98)
72. ①②③ Harriet Tubman (99)
73. ①②③ Booker T. Washington (100)
74. ①②③ F. Scott Fitzgerald (101)
75. ①②③ Nat Turner (102)

76. Which one of the following was a scientist?
①Booker T. Washington
②George Washington Carver
③Paul Lawrence Dunbar (103)

77. Ralph Bunche was --
①A civil rights leader
②A U. S. Congressman
③A United Nations official (104)

78. Do you think most of the rules in this school are fair?
①Yes
②No (105)

79. Do you think you might want to be a teacher someday?
①Yes
②No (106)

80. Is there any adult at this school you could talk to if you were upset or in trouble?
①Yes
②No (107)

81. Have you been in any fights at school this school year?
①Yes
②No (108)

82. In the past year, were you ever sent to the office because someone thought you were breaking some school rule?
①Yes, only once
②Yes, two or more times
③No (109)

83. During this school year, did you ever stay away from school just because you didn't want to come?
①Never
②Yes, for 1 or 2 days
③Yes, for 3 to 6 days
④Yes, for 7 to 15 days
⑤Yes, for 16 or more days (110)

In general, do you tend to agree or disagree with each of the following?
(111 - 124)

Agree Disagree

84. ① ② A lot of people who are smart at books have good common sense, too.
85. ① ② The nation which is in the right nearly always wins in a war.
86. ① ② Most people can be trusted.
87. ① ② When bad things are going to happen, they just are going to happen no matter what you try to do to stop them.
88. ① ② When taking a test, I get so nervous I can't think straight.
89. ① ② On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
90. ① ② Good luck is just as important for success as hard work is.
91. ① ② I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
92. ① ② Some kids are just naturally lucky.
93. ① ② I feel like I don't really belong in this school.
94. ① ② When I make plans, I am almost sure I can make them work.
95. ① ② Most people are better off than I am.
96. ① ② Most of the time it doesn't pay to try hard because things never turn out right anyway.
97. ① ② A lot of what they teach you in school is not worth learning.

98 Do you get really angry when teachers try to make you do things you don't want to do?
①Yes
②No (125)

99. Everything considered, are you very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?
①Very happy
②Pretty happy
③Not too happy (126)

100. Do you like the principal of this school?
① Yes
② No (127)

101. Do you think you will go to college?
①Yes
②No (128)

102. In the morning, are you usually glad to go to school?
①Yes
②No (129)

103. When you get punished at school, does it usually seem it's for no good reason at all?
①Yes
②No (130)

104. Do you usually hate school?
①Yes
②No (131)

105. Why are you attending this particular school?
①I was assigned here
②My parents or I selected this school (132)

106. Were you a student at this school one year ago?
①Yes
②No (133)

107. How do you usually get to school (please mark only one)?
①Walk or bicycle
②School bus
③Car
④Some other way (134)

108. How long does it usually take you to get to school in the morning?
① Less than 20 minutes
② 20–29 minutes
③ 30–39 minutes
④ 40–49 minutes
⑤ 50–59 minutes
⑥ 60–69 minutes
⑦ 70 minutes or more (135)

109. Is there a public high school closer to your house than this one?
① Yes
② No (136)

110. What grade or year of school are you in now?
① 9th Grade (Freshman)
② 10th Grade (Sophomore or Freshman)
③ 11th Grade (Junior or Sophomore)
④ 12th Grade (Senior) (137)

THANK YOU FOR THE TIME AND HELP YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THIS STUDY.

SURVEY TEST OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

10th GRADE FORM

PART I READING (140 - 149)

EXAMPLES

1 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

2 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

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PART II MECHANICS OF WRITING (150 - 164)

EXAMPLES

13 Ⓐ Ⓑ Ⓒ Ⓓ

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PART III MATHEMATICS COMPUTATION (165 - 176)

EXAMPLE

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PART IV MATHEMATICS - BASIC CONCEPTS (177 - 186)

EXAMPLE

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PART V SCIENCE (187 - 196)

EXAMPLE

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CONFIDENTIAL

OMB No. 51-S72007
Approval expires December 31, 1972

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

(28 - 29)

FOR NORC USE				
①	④	⑦	⑩	⑬
②	⑤	⑧	⑪	⑭
③	⑥	⑨	⑫	⑮

(20 - 27)

FOR NCS USE ONLY							
⓪	⓪	⓪	⓪	⓪	⓪	⓪	⓪
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②	②	②	②	②	②	②	②
③	③	③	③	③	③	③	③
④	④	④	④	④	④	④	④
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⑥	⑥	⑥	⑥	⑥	⑥	⑥	⑥
⑦	⑦	⑦	⑦	⑦	⑦	⑦	⑦
⑧	⑧	⑧	⑧	⑧	⑧	⑧	⑧
⑨	⑨	⑨	⑨	⑨	⑨	⑨	⑨

NORC

national opinion research center

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
6030 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637
684-5600 Area Code 312
JAMES A. DAVIS, *Director*
PAUL B. SHEATSLEY, *Survey Research Service Director*

April, 1972

Dear Teacher:

The Superintendent of Schools in your District and your own school principal have agreed to participate in a large scale evaluation study of the Emergency School Assistance Program. The U. S. Office of Education is trying to learn all it can that will help them at the federal level, and school administrators at the local level, to design and carry out programs which will effectively achieve desegregation goals.

Participants will include 5th and 10th grade students, teachers, principals, and community leaders.

All answers will be treated confidentially and only reported statistically. No one's name will ever be revealed or identified with his or her questionnaire either locally or to the Office of Education in Washington.

Our grateful thanks in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Robert L Crain

Robert L. Crain
Project Study Director

RLC:ns
5038
OE Form No. 190 - 3

EASTERN OFFICE: • 817 Broadway New York, New York 10003 • Telephone: 677-4740 Area Code 212

TRUSTEES: • D. Gale Johnson, Pres. • Robert McC. Adams • Harold E. Bell • Benjamin S. Bloom • James C. Downs, Jr.
Walter D. Fackler • Morris H. Hansen • Harry Kalven, Jr. • Nathan Keyfitz • William H. Kruskal • Don R. Swanson

DIRECTIONS

READ EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY. MARK YOUR ANSWER BY FILLING IN THE CIRCLE NEXT TO THE ANSWER THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOU OR WHAT YOU THINK. MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER FOR EACH QUESTION, UNLESS INSTRUCTED OTHERWISE. IF YOU WISH TO CHANGE AN ANSWER, ERASE YOUR FIRST MARK COMPLETELY. USE ONLY A No. 2 (OR SOFTER) PENCIL—NEVER USE INK OR BALLPOINT PEN. DO NOT MAKE ANY STRAY MARKS IN THIS BOOKLET.

FOR NCS USE ONLY							
1	①	②					
2A	①	②					
2B	①	②					
3	①	②	③	④			
5A	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦
5B	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦

(30 - 35)

Please fill in a circle for every question. We have provided "doesn't apply" type answer categories for some questions in case you feel that a question doesn't apply in your school.

EXAMPLE:

Do you presently live in --
① Canada
● United States
③ England
④ Mexico

1. Are you currently a
① Classroom teacher in any elementary grades (K–8)
② High school teacher in academic subject
③ Speech therapist or remedial reading teacher
④ Physical education teacher
⑤ Counselor
⑥ Administrator
⑦ Other (What?) (36)

Print

2. Which age group are you in?
① 25 or under
② 26–35
③ 36–45
④ 46–55
⑤ 56–65
⑥ Over 65 (37)

3. Are you male or female?
① Male
② Female (38)

4. What is your race?
① Black, Negro
② White, Caucasian
③ White, Mexican-American
④ American Indian
⑤ Oriental
⑥ Other (What?) (39)

Print

5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
① Less than one year of college
② 1–3 years of college
③ 4 years of college
④ More than 4 years of college
⑤ Master's degree
⑥ Graduate work beyond Master's
⑦ Doctor's degree (40)

6. Everything considered, would you say you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?
① Very happy
② Pretty happy
③ Not too happy (41)

7. On the whole, how would you evaluate the way in which desegregation is working out in your school?
① Almost no problems
② Some minor problems
③ Some serious problems
④ Many serious problems
⑤ Does not apply (42)

8. Here is a list of things that have happened in some desegregated schools. Please indicate whether or not each of these things happened at your school. (43 - 48)

Yes	No	Does not apply	
①	②	③	A greater amount of fighting than before desegregation
①	②	③	Minority groups demanding ethnic studies
①	②	③	All students are learning more
①	②	③	Teachers from different groups are learning to work well together
①	②	③	White students are becoming less prejudiced
①	②	③	New educational programs are improving schools

We are interested in relations between blacks and whites and also between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans in the schools. Please answer these questions for the appropriate groups in your school.

9. How would you describe the contact between minority (black or Mexican-American)-and majority (white, Anglo)-group pupils in your school?
① Very tense relationship
② Formal relationships are satisfactory, but no intergroup friendships
③ A few intergroup friendships
④ Many intergroup friendships
⑤ Does not apply (49)

10. Some educators talk about a "tipping point." They say that if the number of minority-group students in a school goes over a certain "tipping" percentage, it becomes almost impossible to maintain school quality, and white students will withdraw from the school. In your opinion, what percentage of minority students is the "tipping point"? (50 - 51)
① 10%
② 20%
③ 30%
④ 40%
⑤ 50%
⑥ 60%
⑦ 70%
⑧ 80%
⑨ 90%
⑩ No such point

11. Some people say that black students would really be better off in all-black schools. Others say that black students are better off in racially mixed schools. What do you think?

① Most black students are better off in all-black schools
② Most black students are better off in mixed schools (52)

12. What about white students--do you think that white students are better off in all-white schools, or are they better off in racially mixed schools?

① Most white students are better off in all-white schools
② Most white students are better off in mixed schools (53)

13. During this school year, have you taken any in-service training, college courses, workshops, or other teacher education dealing with intergroup relations or instruction of disadvantaged students?

① I haven't taken any training
② Yes, intergroup relations
③ Yes, instruction of disadvantaged
④ Yes, both intergroup relations and instruction of disadvantaged
⑤ Took training, but not on those topics (54)

14. Which one of the following best describes the amount of time you spent at those teacher-education sessions and preparing for them?

① I haven't taken any training
② 1 day or less
③ 2 or 3 days
④ About a week
⑤ 8–13 days
⑥ 2 weeks or more
(55)

15. On the whole, how would you evaluate the in-service training?

① I haven't taken any training
② It was a valuable experience for me
③ It was all right, but I didn't learn much
④ It was mostly a waste of time, but I did learn something
⑤ It was a complete waste of time (56)

16. Can you think of any way you have changed your thinking as a result of this in-service training?

① I haven't taken any training
② No, I can't think of anything specific
③ Yes, I can think of a specific change (57)

17. How much time do you usually spend each day preparing for the next day's classes?

① I don't spend any time in preparation
② Approximately one hour per day
③ Approximately two hours per day
④ Approximately three hours per day or more (58)

18. Do other teachers ever ask you for advice about their teaching problems?

① Yes, often
② Yes, occasionally
③ Yes, seldom
④ No, never (59)

19. During the usual school day, how much time altogether do you have to yourself, away from your students?

① None
② A few minutes (up to 15)
③ More than 15 minutes but less than an hour
④ An hour or more (60)

20. As far as you know, do white (Anglo) parents come to school more often this year than last year, less often, or about the same?

① More
② Less
③ About the same
④ Does not apply (61)

21. As far as you know, do minority-group parents come to school more often this year than last year, less often, or about the same?

① More
② Less
③ About the same
④ Does not apply (62)

22. What proportion of your white (Anglo) students would you say are discipline problems--cut classes, damage property, get into fights?

① 20% or more
② 15–19%
③ 10–14%
④ 5–9%
⑤ Less than 5%
⑥ Does not apply (63)

23. What proportion of your minority-group students would you say are discipline problems--cut classes, damage property, get into fights?

① 20% or more
② 15–19%
③ 10–14%
④ 5–9%
⑤ Less than 5%
⑥ Does not apply (64)

24. **What proportion of your white (Anglo) students would you say are performing adequately by your standards for this grade level?**
① Almost all are doing adequate work
② More than half are doing adequate work
③ Less than half are doing adequate work
④ Very few are doing adequate work
⑤ Does not apply (65)

25. **What proportion of your minority-group students would you say are performing adequately by the same standards?**
① Almost all are doing adequate work
② More than half are doing adequate work
③ Less than half are doing adequate work
④ Very few are doing adequate work
⑤ Does not apply (66)

26. **A number of schools have adopted multi-ethnic texts which discuss minority-group leaders and portray minority-group characters. Are texts of this type used in your school?**
① Yes, most of the texts discuss minority groups
② Some of the texts are multi-ethnic, but most are not
③ No, none of the texts are multi-ethnic (67)

27. **Have there been any special projects in this school, such as plays or group discussions, which deal openly with intergroup problems?**
① No, not to my knowledge
② Yes, I know of one such project
③ Yes, several projects (68)

28. **Do you feel that you should let your students know how you feel about race relations, or would that be improper?**
① I should let them know
② That would be improper (69)

29. **How often do you have class discussions about race?**
① Once a week or more
② Once a month
③ Once every few months
④ No such discussions so far (70)

30. **Think for a moment about the three teachers you talk with most often at this school. Are they the same racial (or ethnic) group you are?**
① Yes, all same group as me
② No, one or more is from another group
③ All teachers in this school are the same group (71)

31. **Every teacher is bothered by some things about teaching. Look at this list of things that may have been a source of frustration to you this year. For each, fill in the circle in the "yes" column if you have felt this way, or the circle in the "no" column if you have not.** (72 - 78)

Yes No
① ② There is just too much work to do.
① ② Many of my students won't try to learn.
① ② The range of ability among my students makes it really hard to keep them all interested and learning.
① ② I feel as if I have a great deal of responsibility and no one to share it with.
① ② I feel as if no one appreciates my work.
① ② Too often I feel I don't have the training to solve some of the problems I am faced with.
① ② I feel the atmosphere is tense in this school.

32. **What proportion of your white (Anglo) students would you say have the potential to attend the largest state university in your state?**
① Almost all
② More than half
③ Less than half
④ Very few (79)
⑤ Does not apply

33. **What proportion of your minority-group students would you say have the potential to attend the largest state university in your state?**
① Almost all
② More than half
③ Less than half
④ Very few (80)
⑤ Does not apply

34. **Do you feel scores on standardized tests are generally a good indicator of a pupil's ability?**
① Yes, good indicator
② No, not good indicator (81)

35. **Are you enjoying teaching more or less this year than you did last year?**
① I enjoy teaching more this year than last year
② I enjoy teaching less this year than last year
③ I really don't feel any difference
④ Does not apply (82)

36. **If you were starting your working life over again, would you decide to become a teacher, or would you select some other career?**
① Teacher
② Other career (83)

37. How often, this school year, have you gone to the head of your department or the principal to get advice on a teaching problem you were encountering?
①I haven't done this at all
②I asked for advice once or twice this year
③I asked for advice 3 to 10 times
④More than 10 times
⑤Does not apply (84)

38. Compared to what you think other principals in other schools are like, do you think this school's principal is better than the average, as good as most, or below average?
① Principal is outstanding
② Principal is better than average
③ Principal is as good as most
④ Principal is below average (85)

39. Are any of the teachers in this school unfair to minority-group students?
① Almost all of them
② Many of them
③ A few
④ Only one teacher
⑤ None
⑥ Does not apply (86)

40. Are any of the teachers in this school unfair to white students?
① Almost all of them
② Many of them
③ A few
④ Only one teacher
⑤ None
⑥ Does not apply (87)

41. As far as you know, has your principal talked with any teachers because they have treated minority-group students unfairly?
① Yes
② No
③ No unfair teachers
④ Does not apply (88)

42. As far as you know, has your principal talked with any teachers because they have treated white students unfairly?
① Yes
② No
③ No unfair teachers
④ Does not apply (89)

43. For how many years have you worked with pupils of other racial or ethnic groups--that is, with students from a racial (or ethnic) group different from your own?
① Never
② 1 year (This is my first year)
③ 2 years
④ 3 years
⑤ 4 years
⑥ 5 or more years (90)

44. As far as you know, how do each of the following feel about desegregation? (91 - 95)

Like it very much
Like it somewhat
Do not care
Dislike it somewhat
Dislike it very much
Don't know
Does not apply

①②③④⑤⑥ Most of your students
①②③④⑤⑥ The principal of this school
①②③④⑤⑥ The Superintendent of this school district
①②③④⑤⑥⑦ Most white teachers in this school
①②③④⑤⑥⑦ Most minority teachers in this school

45. Listed below are some statements other people have made. For each, please mark whether you strongly agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or strongly disagree. (96 - 99)

Strongly agree
Agree somewhat
Disagree somewhat
Strongly disagree

①②③④ The amount of prejudice against minority groups in this country is highly exaggerated.
①②③④ I would like to live in an integrated neighborhood.
①②③④ The civil rights movement has done more good than harm.
①②③④ Blacks and whites should not be allowed to intermarry.

46. If you had to choose one factor which accounts most for failure of the Negro to achieve equality, which would you choose--a lack of initiative and drive, or the restrictions imposed by a white society?
① Lack of initiative and drive
② Restrictions imposed by a white society (100)

47. In some schools, a student who is placed in a particular ability class will almost always stay in that level until he graduates; in other schools, a fairly large number of students are changed into different levels before they graduate. What happens in your school? (101)

① We do not separate students by ability level or into different academic programs
② Very few students change from one academic level or program to another
③ Approximately one student out of every ten changes between the time he enters school and the time he leaves
④ More than one-tenth of the students change

48. Would you say that your school is trying harder this year than it has in the past to get parents to visit the school or come to PTA or other parent groups, or is it not trying as hard?

① School is trying harder this year
② School is not trying as hard this year
③ No difference (102)

49. In the past week, have any students come to you to ask your advice on some problem they were having outside of your class? (103)

① No
② Yes, one did
③ Yes, two or three did
④ Yes, more than three did

50. In some school years, a teacher learns a lot about education, while in other years a teacher doesn't learn much. This year, have you learned a lot about: (104 - 110)

Yes No
①② new materials, new kinds of texts, supplementary materials?
①② theories of teaching reading?
①② effective methods of maintaining discipline?
①② how to handle intergroup relations among students?
①② being less afraid of other racial and ethnic groups?
①② minority-group history?
①② how better to deal with heterogenous classes?

51. Compared to other schools that you know about, would you say that the tone of this school is more strict, more easy going, or about average?

① More strict
② More easy going
③ About average (111)

52. Below is a list of programs which have started in some schools. Think about a school like this one which might not have any of these programs, and tell us (by filling in one circle for each program) how helpful you think that program would be. (112 - 134)

Very helpful
Somewhat helpful
Not very helpful
Harmful

①②③④ Guidance counselors program
①②③④ Social worker--home visitor program
①②③④ Teacher aides
①②③④ Teacher workshops or in-service training for teachers or aides
①②③④ Remedial reading program
①②③④ Vocational training courses
①②③④ Minority group history or culture courses
①②③④ Special classrooms for underachievers
①②③④ Special classrooms for socially or emotionally maladjusted
①②③④ Achievement grouping of classrooms
①②③④ Achievement grouping within classes
①②③④ Major curriculum revisions
①②③④ Extracurricular activities geared towards minority students
①②③④ Late bus for students who stay for extracurricular activities
①②③④ Program for tutoring low achieving students
①②③④ Special program to increase parent-teacher contact (e.g., conferences)
①②③④ Programs to improve intergroup relations among students
①②③④ Program to improve intergroup relations among teachers
①②③④ Bi-racial advisory committee of students
①②③④ Equipment for students to use, such as reading machines, tape recorders, videotape machines, etc.
①②③④ Team teaching
①②③④ Ungraded classes
①②③④ Demonstration or experimental classrooms

HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS PLEASE NOTE:
Please skip to page 10 now and answer questions H–1 to H–9.

COUNSELORS PLEASE NOTE:
Please skip to page 11 now and answer questions C–1 to C–3.

ELEMENTARY GRADES TEACHERS PLEASE NOTE:
Please turn to page 8 now and answer questions E–1 to E–11.

FOR TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY GRADES

E–1. Are you involved in a team teaching program with more than one teacher (not an aide) sharing students and teaching them?

①Yes, all day
②Yes, part of every day
③Yes, on some days
④No (135)

E–2. Do you have any teacher aides working with you and your students?

①Yes, full time for my class
②Yes, part time for my class
③No (136)

E–3. How is most of the teacher aide time spent in your class? (PLEASE MARK ONLY ONE CIRCLE.)

①I don't have an aide
②Doing clerical and other tasks
③Helping students with their work
④Working with parent or community groups
⑤Helping to counsel students (137)

E–4. What ethnic group is your aide? (If you have aides from more than one ethnic group, mark "Other" and describe in box.)

①I don't have an aide
②Black
③White (Anglo)
④Mexican-American
⑤Puerto Rican
⑥Cuban
⑦American Indian
⑧Other (What?) (138)

Print ☐

E–5. Is your classroom ungraded?

①Yes
②No (139)

E–6. In an average week, how much extra time (not counting homework) do most poor readers spend in reading?

①None
②1 hour to 2 hours a week extra
③3 or more hours a week extra (140)

E–7. In an average week, how much extra time (not counting homework) do most poor math students spend on arithmetic?

①None
②1 hour to 2 hours a week extra
③3 or more hours a week extra (141)

E–8. I usually don't permit students to talk in class unless they first raise their hands.

①Agree
②Disagree (142)

E–9. Have you or anyone else from the school system visited the homes of any of your students this school year?

①Yes, visited five or more homes
②Yes, visited three or four homes
③Yes, visited one or two homes
④No homes visited
⑤I haven't, but don't know about others (143)

E–10. We would like some additional information about two pupils in your class.

A. First, think of the white (Anglo) student whose name is first in alphabetical order. Please answer each of the following about that child.

Initial of child's last name (144 - 150)

☐

Yes
No
Don't know
Does not apply, no white students

Does that child--
①②③④ have many friends?
①②③④ have a hobby he or she is especially interested in?
①②③④ talk to you a lot about what he or she is doing?
①②③④ seem to have a difficult home life?
①②③④ have a special interest in some school project?

Is that child--
①②③④ often unhappy?
①②③④ likeable around adults?

E–10. (Continued)

B. Now please answer the questions about the first minority group child in alphabetical order.

Initial of child's last name (151 - 157)

☐

Yes
No
Don't know
Does not apply, no minority group students

Does that child--
① ② ③ ④ have many friends?
① ② ③ ④ have a hobby he or she is especially interested in?
① ② ③ ④ talk to you a lot about what he or she is doing?
① ② ③ ④ seem to have a difficult home life?
① ② ③ ④ have a special interest in some school project?

Is that child--
① ② ③ ④ often unhappy?
① ② ③ ④ likeable around adults?

E–11. We would like you to think about your classroom on the last school day before today.

NOW answer items A - D:

A. How many times did you have to interrupt what you were doing in order to tell students to stop talking, to pay attention, or to discipline them in some other way? (158)

① Only about once each hour
② Only about once every half hour
③ Once about every 15 minutes
④ More often than every 15 minutes

B. Offhand, how many students would you say paid attention to most of the school work during that day? (159)

① I think everyone paid attention
② All the students except one, two, or three paid attention
③ Most of the students paid attention, but there were more than 3 who did not
④ Less than half the class was paying attention

E–11 (Continued)

C. How many students participated individually--by reading a passage, working a problem on the board, etc.?

① None
② One to three
③ Four to ten
④ More than ten
⑤ Every student (160)

D. How much time each day did you spend using classroom discussion as a method of teaching?

① None--my students cannot really benefit from it
② About 15 minutes
③ About 30 minutes
④ An hour or more (161)

THANK YOU FOR THE TIME AND HELP YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THIS STUDY.

PLEASE

MAKE NO

STRAY

MARKS

ON THIS

PAGE

FOR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

H–1. If you have a bi-racial student committee in your school, how effective has the committee been in solving intergroup problems and making desegregation go smoothly?

① No such committee
② Effective; it has helped
③ Somewhat effective; it has helped a small amount
④ It hasn't really accomplished anything
⑤ It has done as much harm as it has done good
⑥ It has been definitely harmful (162)

H–2. Has the school organized any new bi-racial extracurricular activities this school year?

① Yes
② No
③ Does not apply (163)

H–3. Has the school taken steps to make sure that all social clubs, band, athletic teams, etc., are integrated?

① Yes, all integrated
② No, some are not integrated
③ No extracurricular activities
④ Does not apply (164)

H–4. Does the school have a course in minority group history or culture?

① Yes, more than one class
② Yes, one class
③ No (165)

H–5. Compared to last year, as far as you know, has student participation in extracurricular activities increased, decreased, or remained the same in your school?

① Increased
② Decreased
③ Remained the same (166)

H–6. Has the school eliminated any student dances because of possible racial problems?

① Yes
② No (167)

H–7. Has the school eliminated any student elections because of possible racial problems?

① Yes
② No (168)

H–8. We would like you to think about the last regular class (not a test or study period) you had before filling in this questionnaire.

NOW answer the following questions:

A. How often did you have to interrupt your work in that class to tell students to stop talking, to pay attention, or to discipline them in some other way?

① Not once in that period
② Only once or twice
③ Three or four times
④ More than four times (169)

B. Off-hand, how many students would you say were paying little attention in that class?

① I think everyone paid attention
② All the students except 1, 2, or 3 paid attention
③ Most of the students paid attention, but more than 3 did not
④ Less than half the class was paying attention (170)

C. In that class, how many students participated individually in the class--by answering a question, reading a passage, working a problem on the board, etc.?

① None
② One to three
③ Four to ten
④ More than ten
⑤ Every student (171)

H–9. In an average series of five days of a given class, how often do you devote most of the time to classroom discussion?

① Less than one day out of five
② About one day in five
③ About two days in five
④ About three days in five
⑤ About four days in five
⑥ Nearly every period is mostly discussion (172)

THANK YOU FOR THE TIME AND HELP YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THIS STUDY.

FOR COUNSELORS

C–1. About how many different students did you see in your role as counselor last week?

☐☐☐☐

C–2. Of that total, about how many did you see primarily for each of the reasons listed below? (Write in approximate number of all students and approximate number of minority group students under appropriate columns.)

Approximate number of all students	Approximate number of minority students	Counseling primarily for ---
☐☐☐	☐☐☐	Vocational counseling--helping students decide what kind of work they will do after graduation
☐☐☐	☐☐☐	College choice counseling--helping students choose a college and apply
☐☐☐	☐☐☐	Discipline problems; truancy, breaking rules, etc.
☐☐☐	☐☐☐	Handling racial problems--fights between white and black students, other racial issues
☐☐☐	☐☐☐	Academic counseling--trying to help students do better academic work
☐☐☐	☐☐☐	Personal counseling--not directly concerned with school work--helping students with emotional problems, family problems, sexual problems, etc.

C–3. About how many of these students decided to see you without being referred by a teacher?

☐☐☐☐

THANK YOU FOR THE TIME AND HELP
YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THIS STUDY.

NORC-5038
March, 1972

OMB No.
Approval expires December 31, 1972

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

U.S. Office of Education Study
Evaluation of ESAP
and
Study of the Process of School Desegregation

PRINCIPAL'S INTERVIEW

BEGIN DECK 1

School District: ________________ Number: ☐☐☐ 1-3

Name of School: ________________ Number: ☐☐ 4-5 KEY PUNCH GO TO PAGE 5

Date	Record of Calls	Interviewer's Initials

OE form

1. First, I'd like to ask some questions about various categories of personnel at this school. HAND RESPONDENT CARD A.

A. How many full-time and part-time staff members in each of the categories on the card are currently working at this school? ASK A-D AS APPROPRIATE FOR EACH CATEGORY BEFORE GOING ON TO NEXT CATEGORY.			IF ANY IN A, ASK B-D. B. Of those, how many are . . .				C. (Is that person/are they) available to (5th/10th) grade students?	
	#Full time	#Part time	# Black	# White	#Mexican American	# Other	Yes	No
Remedial reading teacher							1	2
Remedial math teacher							1	2
Music or art teacher							1	2
Drama or speech teacher							1	2
Gym teacher or coach							1	2
Vocational education teacher							1	2
Counselor aides							1	2
Guidance counselor							1	2
Psychologist							1	2
Social worker							1	2
Speech therapist							1	2
Teacher aides							1	2
Library aide or clerk							1	2
Librarian							1	2
Nurse							1	2
Audio-visual specialist							1	2
Truant officer/home visitor							1	2
Community relations specialist							1	2
Administrator (not listed above)							1	2
Other (What?)							1	2

ASK E FOR EACH SPECIALTY ON CARD A AFTER ALL A-D COMPLETED FOR 1971-72 SCHOOL YR.

	D. HAND RESPONDENT CARD B. Into which of the categories on the card (does/do each of) the [SPECIALIST(S)] fall?				E. Please look at Card A again and tell me how many persons in each category worked here either full time or part time during the 1970-71 school year.	
	# of certified specialists	# certified teachers, but not certified specialists	# college graduates, but not certified teachers	# not college graduates	# Full time	# Part time
	▨					
	▨					
	▨					

2. We've talked about special personnel. Now, please tell me how many regular classroom teachers are on your staff.

Total number of regular classroom teachers: ________

ASK A AND B FOR EACH CATEGORY BEFORE GOING ON TO NEXT CATEGORY.

	A. Approximately how many of the teachers are . . READ CATEGORY AND RECORD BELOW; THEN ASK B.	B. Approximately how many (READ CATEGORY) regular classroom teachers did you have last year?
Black	________	________
White	________	________
(Mexican-American) .	________	________
(American Indian) .	________	________

---

3. Including yourself, how many people hold administrative positions here?

Total number of administrators: ________

ASK A AND B FOR EACH CATEGORY BEFORE GOING ON TO NEXT CATEGORY.

	A. Approximately how many administrators are . . . READ CATEGORY AND RECORD BELOW; THEN ASK B.	B. Approximately how many (READ CATEGORY) administrators did you have last year?
Black	________	________
White	________	________
(Mexican-American) .	________	________
(American Indian) .	________	________

---

4. And how many people all together do you have on your clerical and secretarial staff?

Total number of clerical and secretarial staff: ________

ASK A AND B FOR EACH CATEGORY BEFORE GOING ON TO NEXT CATEGORY.

	A. Approximately how many secretaries and clerks are READ CATEGORY AND RECORD BELOW; THEN ASK B.	B. Approximately how many (READ CATEGORY) clerks and secretaries did you have last year?
Black	________	________
White	________	________
(Mexican-American) .	________	________
(American Indian) .	________	________

5. How many clerical or para-professional positions that we've mentioned are filled by parents of children who attend this school?

CODE "0" FOR None	0
OR RECORD NUMBER _____ AND CODE "1" FOR ANY . .	1

---

6. During this school year, were any teacher institutes, workshops, or other in-service training offered to your teaching staff?

Yes . (ASK A) .	1
No	2

A. IF YES: We'd like to know about the topics covered at some of the teacher institutes your teachers attended. For example, were there any programs which concentrated on [ITEM (1)]? NOW ASK ITEMS (2) - (4).

	Yes	No
(1) Teaching methods?	1	2
(2) Were there any which concentrated on curriculum development?	1	2
(3) How about school discipline--did any concentrate on that?	1	2
(4) And did any concentrate on desegregation and intergroup relations?	1	2

The next series of questions has to do with the ways in which individuals and groups in this community might have worked with your school during this school year.

7. Compared to last year, has the white (Anglo) community been more active in working with your school, less active, or has there been no change?

More active	1	10/
Less active	2	
No change	3	

---

8. Compared to last year, has the black (Mexican-American) community been more active in working with your school, less active, or has there been no change?

More active	1	11/
Less active	2	
No change	3	

---

9. As far as you know, does this community have an adult bi-racial committee to advise the school system on racial issues?

Yes . . (ASK A) . .	1	12/
No	2	

A. IF YES: Has that committee made any recommendations regarding your school?

Yes	1	13/
No	2	

10. During this school year, approximately how many times have school personnel met with community or parent groups (excluding meetings with the bi-racial advisory committee) for the purpose of informing the community about the process of desegregation here at (NAME OF SCHOOL)?

Not at all	0	14/
Once or twice	1	
Three or four times .	2	
Five or more times .	3	

---

11. Does your school have a parent organization like the PTA or any other organized parent group?

Yes . . (ASK A) . . .	1	15/
No	2	

A. IF YES: Think about this year's officers of that group--are they all white (Anglo), all minority group, or are the officers from more than one (racial) group?

All white	1	16/
All minority group .	2	
More than one group .	3	
Don't know	4	

Now, I have some questions about special classes, programs, or activities.

12. Is there a special school in this district to which you can refer pupils with special learning disabilities or social adjustment problems?

Yes	1	17/
No	2	

---

13. Has your school established any program to meet the needs of poor students for better nutrition, clothing, or financial help either this school year or last?

Yes, this school year	1	18/
Yes, last school year	2	
Yes, this and last year . . .	3	
No	4	

---

14. What proportion of your students would you estimate meet the federal requirements as disadvantaged under Title I? (If you can give me the number of students more easily than per cent, I can take it that way.)

Number: ______ or ______ % ☐☐☐ 19 20 21

---

15. Approximately how many pupils at this school receive free hot lunches under the Department of Agriculture School Lunch Program? (Per cent is OK too, if it's easier.)

Number: ______ or ______ % ☐☐☐ 22 23 24

16. Has the racial (or ethnic) composition of your student population changed since the 1970-71 school year?

Yes	1	25/
No	2	

---

17. In what year did the desegregation plan have the greatest effect on change in the racial (or ethnic) composition in your student body?

1971	1	26/
1970	2	
1969	3	
1968	4	
1967	5	
1966	6	
1965 or before	7	
No change yet (SKIP TO Q. 20)	8	

---

18. At that time (YEAR CODED IN Q. 17), did you talk to your teachers either formally or informally regarding the way they should handle the new students, or did you feel it best to let each of them handle new students in their own way?

Talked to teachers	1	27/
Let them handle in own way	2	
Wasn't principal at time of desegregation	3	

---

19. Before desegregation, was this a white or black school?

White	1	28/
Black	2	KEYPUNCH GO TO PAGE 9.
Mexican-American	3	
American Indian	4	
Built as desegregated school	5	
Other (SPECIFY)	6	

20. A. Approximately how many white students are enrolled in this school? #: ________

(IF NONE TO A, GO TO C[1])

B. Are they all assigned to this school, or are some of them voluntary transfers into this school?

All assigned 1
Some voluntary transfers (ASK [1]) 2

[1] IF SOME VOLUNTARY TRANSFERS: About how many white students are voluntary transfers into this school? #: ________

C. Do all (or almost all) of the white students assigned to this school attend here, or have some transferred to another public or private school?

All assigned attend here . . 1
Some assigned here have transferred (ASK [1]) . . 2

[1] IF "NONE" TO A OR SOME ASSIGNED TRANSFERRED OUT TO C: About how many white students who are assigned here have transferred to another public or private school? #: ________

---

21. A. Approximately how many black students are enrolled in this school? #________

(IF NONE TO A, GO TO C[1])

B. Are they all assigned to this school, or are some of them voluntary transfers into this school?

All assigned 1
Some voluntary transfers (ASK [1]) 2

[1] IF SOME VOLUNTARY TRANSFERS: About how many black students are voluntary transfers into this school? #: ________

C. Do all (or almost all) of the black students assigned to this school attend here, or have some transferred to another public or private school?

All assigned attend here . . 1
Some assigned here have transferred (ASK [1]) . . 2

[1] IF "NONE" TO A OR SOME ASSIGNED TRANSFERRED OUT TO C: About how many black students who are assigned here have transferred to another public or private school? #: ________

---

22. ASK ONLY IF SOME OTHER MINORITY GROUP CONSTITUTES 5% OR MORE OF STUDENT BODY. CODE OR RECORD WHICH GROUP THAT IS HERE; OTHERWISE, GO TO Q. 23.

Mexican-American . 1
American Indian . 2
Other (SPECIFY) . 3

A. Approximately how many (GROUP CODED ABOVE) students are enrolled in this school? #: ________

B. Are they all assigned to this school, or are some of them voluntary transfers into this school?

All assigned 1
Some voluntary transfers (ASK [1]) 2

[1] IF SOME VOLUNTARY TRANSFERS: About how many (GROUP CODED ABOVE) students are voluntary transfers into this school? #: ________

C. Do all (or almost all) of the (GROUP CODED ABOVE) assigned to this school attend here, or have some transferred to another public or private school?

All assigned attend here . . 1
Some assigned here have transferred [ASK [1]) . . 2

[1] IF SOME ASSIGNED HERE HAVE TRANSFERRED OUT: About how many (GROUP CODED ABOVE) students who are assigned here have transferred to another public or private school? #: ________

ASK EVERYONE:

23. What about religious minorities. Approximately what proportion of the student body here is Catholic? (Just your best guess.)

_____________ % ☐☐☐ 29 30 31

---

24. Approximately what proportion of the student body is Jewish? (Just your best guess.)

_____________ % ☐☐☐ 32 33 34

---

25. Have this school's attendance boundaries been redrawn, or have non-contiguous attendance areas been created to provide for more racial desegregation in this school?

Yes, boundaries redrawn	1	35/
Yes, non-contiguous attendance areas . . .	2	
Yes, both	3	END DECK 1
New School and boundaries drawn to provide for desegregation . .	4	
No, neither	5	

---

26. A. During the 1971-72 school year, did this school receive any [ASK ITEMS (1) - (6)]? CODE IN COL. A.

B. How about last year (1970-71), did this school receive any [ASK ITEMS (1) - (7)]? CODE IN COL. B.

	A. 1971-72		B. 1970-71	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
(1) School furnishings?	1	2	1	2
(2) Funds for renovation?	1	2	1	2
(3) Funds for additional space?	1	2	1	2
(4) More text books than usual?	1	2	1	2
(5) More testing materials than you usually do?	1	2	1	2
(6) Human or community relations literature?	1	2	1	2
(7) Buses	▨	▨	1	2

BEGIN
DECK 2

INTERVIEWER:

CONTINUE WITH Q. H-1 BELOW FOR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL
OR SKIP TO PAGE 16 FOR ELEMENTARY GRADES PRINCIPAL.

H-1. Does your school have a "career day" when representatives of various professions and occupations come to talk to the students about careers in their fields?

Yes 1 10/
No 2

H-2. Do college representatives come to your school to talk to students about their colleges or universities?

Yes 1 11/
No 2

H-3. Do you have a work-study program--we mean any kind of institutionalized program where students both work and attend classes?

Yes 1 12/
No 2

H-4. When your present 10th graders were in 7th and 8th grades, approximately how many of them went to schools which had ability-grouping? Would you say almost all, over half, less than half, or very few?

Almost all 1 13/
Over half 2
Less than half . . . 3
Very few 4

H-5. (HAND CARD C) Here is a card which lists three ability-grouping procedures. Which best describes the ability-grouping procedure used in this school?

Students are placed into programs--college preparatory, vocational, etc., by their own choice . . . . (ASK A-C) . . 1 14/

Students are placed into programs or academic tracks primarily on the basis of test scores or teachers' recommendations . (ASK A-C) . . [✓ 2]

We don't have academic programs or tracks, either because the school is too small or because we disapprove of tracking (GO TO Q. H-7) . 3

A. Approximately what proportion of the 10th grade academic classes--English, Math, Social Studies, etc.--are separated by program, so that students are in class only with students in their ability-group level or program? (READ CATEGORIES)

All 1 15/

More than half . . . 2

About half 3

Less than half . . . 4

B. Are the non-academic classes, such as home room, gym, health, music, art--separated by ability-group levels or tracks?

Yes, all are separated . 1 16/

Some are separated . . . 2

None are separated . . . 3

C. How many different levels of 10th grade English are there in this school?

One 1 17/

Two 2

Three 3

Four 4

Five 5

Six 6

Seven or more . . . 7

H-6. HAND RESPONDENT CARD D. Now I want to ask you about some programs, courses, and personnel. First, please look at this list and tell me which of these . . . CONTINUE IN COL. A.

	A. . . you don't have here at (NAME OF SCHOOL). Now, let's go thru the list of those you do have. Considering the size, composition, and needs of your particular student body, tell me for each one if it is large enough or too small.			ASK B & C FOR EACH "large enough" OR "too small" IN A BEFORE GOING ON TO NEXT ITEM IN A.				D. If you had to advise a principal of a school which didn't have any of these, which three would you say are most important?	E. And of these three, which one would you pick as the single most important?
				B. (Is that/are) (ITEM) available to 10th graders?		C. Did the school have (ITEM) last year (1970-71)?			
	Large enough	Too small	None	Yes	No	Yes	No	CIRCLE ONLY THREE CODES.	CIRCLE ONLY ONE CODE.
(1) Guidance counselors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	01	01
(2) Social worker or home visitor program	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	02	02
(3) Teacher aides	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	03	03
(4) Teacher workshops or in-service training for teachers or teacher aides	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	04	04
(5) Remedial reading program	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	05	05
(6) Vocational training courses	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	06	06
(7) Minority group history or culture courses	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	07	07
(8) Special classrooms for underachievers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	08	08

(9) Special classrooms for socially or emotionally maladjusted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	09	09
(10) Achievement grouping of classrooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10	10
(11) Major curriculum revisions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	11	11
(12) Extracurricular activities geared toward minority students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	12	12
(13) Late bus for students who stay late for extracurricular activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	13	13
(14) Program for tutoring low achieving students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	14	14
(15) Special program to increase parent-teacher contact (e.g., conferences)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	15	15
(16) Programs to improve intergroup relations among students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	16	16
(17) Program to improve intergroup relations among teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	17	17
(18) Bi-racial advisory committee of students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	18	18
(19) Equipment for students to use, such as reading machines, tape recorders, video tape machines, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	19	19

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THIS PAGE: CHECK SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY RACE ON PAGE 8.

IF BOTH BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS, ASK H-7--H-10; THEN GO TO H-13.

IF NO WHITE STUDENTS (NONE TO Q. 20A), ASK H-8 & H-10 ONLY.
IF NO BLACK STUDENTS (NONE TO Q. 21A), ASK H-7 & H-9 ONLY.

IF 5% OR MORE OTHER MINORITY GROUP (Q. 22, PAGE 8), ASK H-7--H-10 AS APPROPRIATE AND ALSO ASK H-11 & H12.

			NUMBER OF STUDENTS		
H- 7.	A.	How many white 10th graders were enrolled here last fall (September, 1971)?	________	18 19 20 21	
	B.	How many of them have been expelled?	________	22 23	
	C.	How many of them have dropped out of school now? .	________	24 25 26	
H- 8.	A.	How many black 10th graders were enrolled here last fall (September, 1971)? . . .	________	27 28 29 30	
	B.	How many of them have been expelled? . . .	________	31 32	
	C.	How many of them have dropped out of school now? .	________	33 34 35	
H- 9.	A.	How many white seniors (12th graders) are enrolled here now?	________	36 37 38 39	
	B.	Approximately how many of them plan to go to college?	________	40 41 42 43	
	C.	Of the others, how many, if any, do you know have obtained employment for after graduation?. . .	________	44 45 46	
H-10.	A.	How many black seniors (12th graders) are enrolled here now?	________	47 48 49 50	
	B.	Approximately how many of them plan to go to college?	________	51 52 53 54	
	C.	Of the others, how many, if any, do you know have obtained employment for after graduation?. . .	________	55 56 57	
H-11.	A.	How many (GROUP CODED IN Q. 22) 10th graders were here last fall (September, 1971)?	________	10 11 12 13	BEGIN DECK 3
	B.	How many of them have been expelled?	________	14 15	
	C.	How many of them have dropped out of school now? .	________	16 17 18	
H-12.	A.	How many (GROUP CODED IN Q. 22) seniors are enrolled here now?	________	19 20 21 22	
	B.	Approximately how many of them plan to go to college?	________	23 24 25	
	C.	Of the others, how many, if any, do you know have obtained employment for after graduation?		26 27 28	

H-13. Are the student government officers in your school all of the same racial (ethnic) group, or are they from different groups?

All same . . .	1	29/
Different . .	2	

H-14. Are the cheerleaders in your school all of the same racial (ethnic) group, or are they from different groups?

All same	1	30/
Different . . .	2	

H-15. During this school year, how many students in your school have been warned or disciplined because of inappropriate dress or hair length?

NUMBER OF STUDENTS: ______ ☐☐☐ 31 32 33

H-16. How did your football team do this school year--was the team undefeated or lost only one game, did they win more than half their games, or less than half?

No football team	1	34/
Undefeated or lost only one game	2	
Won more than half their games	3	
Won less than half their games	4	

H-17. How about your basketball team this school year--was the team undefeated or lost one game, did they win more than half their games, or less than half?

No basketball team	1	35/
Undefeated or lost only one game	2	
Won more than half their games	3	
Won less than half their games	4	

END OF DECK 3

NOW CONTINUE WITH Q. 27, PAGE 18.

ASK Q. E-2 (PAGES 16 & 17) FOR ELEMENTARY GRADES PRINCIPAL (FOR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL, SKIP TO PAGE 18.)

E-2. HAND RESPONDENT CARD E.
Now I want to ask you about some programs, courses, and personnel. First, please look at this list and tell me which of these . . . CONTINUE IN COL. A.

	A. . . you don't have here at (NAME OF SCHOOL). Now, let's go thru the list of those you do have. Considering the size, composition, and needs of your particular student body, tell me for each one if it is large enough or too small.			ASK B & C FOR EACH "large enough" OR "too small" IN A BEFORE GOING ON TO NEXT ITEM IN A. B. (Is that/are) (ITEM) available to 5th graders?		C. Did the school have (ITEM) last year (1970-71)?		D. If you had to advise a principal of a school which didn't have any of these, which three would you say are most important? CIRCLE ONLY THREE CODES.	E. And of these three, which one would you pick as the single most important? CIRCLE ONLY ONE CODE.
	Large enough	Too small	None	Yes	No	Yes	No		
(1) Guidance counselors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	01	01
(2) Social worker or home visitor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	02	02
(3) Team teaching	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	03	03
(4) Teacher aides	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	04	04
(5) Teacher workshops or in-service training for teachers or teacher aides	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	05	05
(6) Remedial reading program	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	06	06
(7) Ungraded classrooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	07	07
(8) Demonstration or experimental classrooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	08	08

(9) Special classrooms for underachievers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	09	09
(10) Special classrooms for socially or emotionally maladjusted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10	10
(11) Achievement grouping of classrooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	11	11
(12) Achievement grouping within classes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	12	12
(13) Major curriculum revisions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	13	13
(14) Program for tutoring low achieving students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	14	14
(15) Special program to increase parent-teacher contact (e.g., conferences)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	15	15
(16) Programs to improve intergroup relations among students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	16	16
(17) Program to improve intergroup relations among teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	17	17
(18) Equipment for students to use, such as reading machines, tape recorders, video tape machines, etc.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	18	18

CONTINUE WITH Q. 27 ON PAGE 18.

BEGIN
DECK 4

27. When this school year started, did your school develop any sort of contingency plan in case of any sort of racial (intergroup) difficulty?

Yes 1 10/
No 2

---

28. During this schoollyear, has this school been kept closed any days or has it closed early because of racial (intergroup) tensions or problems?

Yes 1 11/
No 2

---

29. What about last year--was the school kept closed any days or did it close early because of racial (intergroup) tensions or problems?

Not closed 1 12/
Closed one or more days . 2

---

30. During this school year, have you held any faculty meetings specifically to discuss problems of desegregation or to deal with racial (intergroup) issues?

Yes 1 13/
No 2

---

31. During this school year, has the situation required that you write any memos to the faculty, talk to faculty members individually or in groups, or do anything else to help them handle racial (intergroup) issues?

Write memos 1 14/
Talk with faculty members individually or in groups . . 2
Other (SPECIFY) 3

No, none of these 4

---

32. This school year, have you called any assemblies on racial (intergroup) issues, or on current events having to do with race (or ethnicity)?

Yes 1 15/
No 2

---

33. Have you received any memoranda during this school year from the superintendent of your school district giving suggestions or guidelines about how to make desegregation go more smoothly?

Yes . (ASK A) . 1 16/
No 2

A. IF YES: Did you find these suggestions or guidelines helpful, or were you doing something like that already, or did you think the suggestions weren t useful to you?

Found them helpful 1 17/
Already doing something like that 2
Weren't useful 3

34. What was the average daily absenteeism rate for this school in January 1972?

_________ % absent ☐☐☐ 18 19 20

---

35. Has the absenteeism of minority group students been greater or less in this school year than in 1970-71, or about the same?

Greater 1 21/
Less 2
No change 3
No minority group students last year 4

---

36. Has the absenteeism of white (Anglo) students been greater or less this school year than it was in 1970-71, or about the same?

Greater 1 22/
Less 2
No change 3
No white students last year . . 4

---

37. In your opinion, are test scores generally a good indicator of a pupil's ability?

Yes, good indicator . . 1 23/
No, not good indicator . 2

---

38. What was the most recent--preferably Spring 1970 median or mean achievement score for your school on some standardized achievement test? We would prefer scores for students now in (5th/10th) grade, but the median or mean score for a grade close to the (5th/10th) would be all right.

SCORE: __________

INTERVIEWER: FIND OUT INFORMATION NECESSARY TO COMPLETE A-D.

A. Is the score the mean or the median?

Mean 1
Median 2
Other (SPECIFY) . . 3

B. What is the name of the standardized test?

____

C. CODE SEASON AND WRITE IN YEAR TEST GIVEN.

SEASON

Spring 1
Fall 2
Winter 3

YEAR: _____

D. CODE GRADE LEVEL TESTED FOR WHICH YOU GOT TEST SCORE.

3rd 1
4th 2
5th 3
6th 4
7th 5
8th 6
9th 7
10th 8
11th 9
12th 0
School as a whole X

39. We're interested in your personal opinion of the quality of teaching of the white and black (minority group) teachers in this school.

A. First, if you had to divide the white teachers into three categories--good, average, and poor--what proportion would you put in each?

☐☐☐ % good 24-26

☐☐☐ % average 27-29

☐☐☐ % poor 30-32

No white teachers in school . . 0

B. How about black (minority group) teachers--what proportion of the black teachers would you put into each of the three categories?

☐☐☐ % good 33-35

☐☐☐ % average 36-38

☐☐☐ % poor 39-41

No black teachers in school . . 0

---

40. Some people say that black students would really be better off in all-black schools. Others say that blacks are better off in racially mixed schools. Which do you think --that READ CATEGORIES.

Most black students are better off in all-black schools . . 1 42/

or

Most black students are better off in mixed schools 2

---

41. What about white students--do you think that most white students are better off in all-white schools, or are they better off in racially mixed schools?

Most white students are better off in all-white schools . . 1 43/

or

Most white students are better off in mixed schools 2

---

42. This school year, have you had time to observe any classes, or does your schedule not allow for that?

Yes 1 44/

No 2

43. Now I will read some statements other people have made. For each, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or strongly disagree

	Strongly agree	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Strongly disagree	
A. First, the amount of prejudice against minority groups in this country is highly exaggerated	1	2	3	4	45/
B. You would like to live in an integrated neighborhood	1	2	3	4	46/
C. The civil rights movement has done more good than harm	1	2	3	4	47/
D. Blacks and whites should not be allowed to intermarry	1	2	3	4	48/

44. If you have to choose one factor which accounts most for failure of the Negro to achieve equality, which would you choose--a lack of initiative and drive, or the restrictions imposed by a white society?

A lack of initiative and drive 1 49/

Restrictions imposed by a white society 2

45. The amount of violence varies from community to community and school to school. Thinking about the entire current school year here at (NAME OF SCHOOL), how many instances of a student being hurt in a fight seriously enough to require hospitalization have occurred? CODE ON LINE FOR ITEM A. NOW ASK B-F IN SAME WAY.

	NUMBER OF INSTANCES					
	None	One	Two	Three	Four or more	
A. A student being hurt in a fight seriously enough to require hospitalization?	0	1	2	3	4	50/
B. A student being hurt seriously enough in a fight to require attention by a doctor or nurse?	0	1	2	3	4	51/
C. A student's locker being broken into?	0	1	2	3	4	52/
D. How many instances of a student being robbed by a gang or group of other students have occurred this school year?	0	1	2	3	4	53/
E. A teacher being attacked by a student?	0	1	2	3	4	54/
F. A robbery of school property worth over $50?	0	1	2	3	4	55/

46. Are you enjoying your work more this year than last year, or less, or about the same?

More	1	56/
Less	2	
Same	3	

---

47. Some educators say that the principal of a school can have a very important effect on how well his students do in school; others say that so much depends upon the teachers, the family background of the students, and the school district's finances that there is little a principal can do. Which comes closest to how you feel?

Principal can have an important effect	1	57/
Much depends on others; principal can do little	2	

---

48. Compared to superintendents in other districts in this part of the country, how would you rate your superintendent in his overall ability--outstanding, better than most, about average, or below average.

Outstanding	1	58/
Better than most . .	2	
About average	3	
Below average	4	

---

49. As far as you know, how do (ITEM A) feel about desegregation--do they like it very much, like it somewhat, dislike it somewhat or dislike it very much? (NOW ASK B & C IN SAME WAY.)

	Like it very much	Like it somewhat	Dislike it somewhat	Dislike it very much	Don't know	Don't care	Doesn't apply	
A. Most white teachers in this school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	59/
B. Most minority teachers in this school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	60/
C. The superintendent of your school district	1	2	3	4	5	6	/////////	61/

---

50. How do you feel about desegregation--do you (READ CATEGORIES)?

Like it very much . .	1	62/
Like it somewhat . .	2	
Dislike it somewhat .	3	
Dislike it very much	4	

51. What would you say is the worst problem your school is having this school year? (PROBE: In what way is that a problem?)

---

52. As far as you are concerned, has the busing program had any particular advantage or disadvantage at this school?

Yes . . . . (ASK A & B) 1 63/
No 2
No busing program . . . 0

IF YES:

A.	B.
What are the advantages? (PROBE: What other advantages can you think of?) IF NONE CODE . . . . 0 AND ASK B.	What are the disadvantages? (PROBE: What other disadvantages?) IF NONE CODE 0

Up to now, we have been talking about the school, about teachers, students, and your view of things in your role as the principal. Now let's finish up with a few questions about yourself and your own background.

53. Which age group are you in? READ CATEGORIES:	25 or under	1	64/
	26-35	2	
	36-45	3	
	46-55	4	
	56-65	5	
	Over 65	6	

54. What is the highest level of education you have completed?	1-3 years of college	1	65/
	4 years of college	2	
	More than 4 years of college	3	
	Master's degree	4	
	Graduate work beyond Master's	5	
	Doctor's degree	6	

55. A. What is the highest level of education your father completed? CODE IN COL. A.

B. What is the highest level of education your mother completed? CODE IN COL. B.

	A. Father	B. Mother
No formal schooling	00 66-67/	00 68-69/
Less than 5 grades	01	01
5 to 7 grades	02	02
8 grades	03	03
9 to 11 grades	04	04
12 grades	05	05
1-3 years of college	06	06
4 years of college	07	07
Master's degree	08	08
Doctor's degree	09	09

56. Was the high school from which you graduated in this state or another state?	This state	1	70/
	Another state	2	

57. Was the college from which you received your bachelor's degree segregated or integrated?	Segregated	1	71/
	Integrated	2	

58. How long have you been principal of this school?	One year (This is my 1st year)	1	72/
	Two years	2	
	Three years	3	
	Four years	4	
	Five or more years	5	

Thank you very much for your time. You have been most helpful.

A. CODE SEX:	Male	1	73/	B. CODE RACE:	White	1	74/
	Female	2			Black	2	
					Other (SPECIFY)	3	

C. Time Ended: __________

D. Total Length of Interview: ______ Minutes

E. ______________________________ (Signature of Interviewer)

Survey 5038
March, 1972

OMB No.
Approval expires December 31, 1972

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

BEGIN DECK 8

United States Office of Education Study

Evaluation of ESAP
and
Study of the Process of School Desegregation

ESAP PROJECT DIRECTOR INTERVIEW

Before going to field:

COPY NAMES OF SAMPLE SCHOOLS IN THIS DISTRICT FROM YOUR SCHOOL ROSTER TO:

CARD 1;
TO Q. 7, PAGE 3; AND
TO SEPARATE SUPPLEMENT FOR EACH SCHOOL.

Optional Introduction:

I'm ____________________ from the National Opinion Research Center. As you know, we are working with the U.S. Office of Education to study the impact of ESAP and other compensatory education programs. We need to get the knowledge and opinions of people who have worked with these programs on a local level so that the Office of Education may incorporate such knowledge in their planning of future programs.

School District: ____________________

Respondent's Name: ____________________

and Title: ____________________

IF R IS NOT ESAP DIRECTOR LISTED ON FACE SHEET, GIVE REASON FOR CHANGE.

OE form

TIME BEGAN:	______________	AM PM

DECK-8

1. Of all the various educational programs and innovations you know about, which one do you think has turned out to have the most effect in raising achievement levels of the students involved. (PROBE: Why is that?)

---

2. Is there some program you or other school staff here would like to see implemented but for which you have been unable to get ESAP or other funding?
IF YES: DESCRIBE. IF NO: CHECK HERE ☐

---

3. Who participates in planning and developing ESAP programs in this district?

---

4. I need to find out details about the use of ESAP (Title 45) funds in this school district. How much money was granted to the district by ESAP for the 1971-72 school year? $ ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐ 10-16

---

5. A. On what date was this year's (1971-72) ESAP grant approved for this district?

DATE: ______________

B. What is the earliest date (approximately) by which programs or personnel paid for by this year's (1971-72) ESAP grant became operational in this district?

DATE: ______________

6. And how much money did this district receive from ESAP during the 1970-71 school year?

17-23

$ ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

---

7. HAND RESPONDENT CARD 1.

A. On this card I have a list of schools in our sample. To make sure that I have each one in the correct category, please tell me whether or not any ESAP funds have been allocated to that school during this 1971-72 school year. CODE YES OR NO IN COLUMN A.

IF ANY ESAP FUNDS IN DISTRICT LAST YEAR (Q. 6), ASK B.

B. Please tell me for each school on the card whether or not they received any ESAP funds last year (1970-71). CODE YES OR NO IN COLUMN B.

		(DECK 6/10)		(DECK 6/11)	
School Names		A. Funds this year? 1971-72		B. Funds last year? 1970-71	
		Yes	No	Yes	No
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
	☐☐	1	2	1	2
		☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐

7. (Cont'd)

FOR DISTRICTS WITH MORE THAN 10 SAMPLE SCHOOLS:

School Names	(DECK 6/10) A. Funds this year? 1971-72		(DECK 6/11) B. Funds last year? 1970-71	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2

I'm going to ask you for details about the use of ESAP funds at schools in our sample in this district. But before I do, I'd like to find out about ESAP funds used for community-wide programs or for more than one school so that the programs or personnel involved could not be correctly described as at an individual school.

8. Were ESAP funds used to pay personnel hired on a community-wide basis, such as anyone involved in long-range planning for the district, or in community relations, or in a centrally located remedial or tutorial program available to children from various schools?
IF YES: DESCRIBE. IF NO: CHECK HERE ☐ AND GO TO Q. 9.

24-25/

(DECK 6/12)

A. CARD 1. From which of the schools on this list (do/did) teachers or pupils participate in that program?	B. ASK FOR EACH SCHOOL NAMED IN A: (Are/Were) (fifth/tenth) grade pupils or teachers involved?		
	Yes, pupils	Yes, teachers	No, neither
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3

9. Were (these or similar) community-wide personnel provided by ESAP funds during the last school year (1970-71)? 26/9

Yes, same or similar 1
No, not provided last year . . 2
Differences in this category last year (DESCRIBE BRIEFLY) 3

10. Were any district-wide or inter-school teacher education programs, institutes, or workshops paid for by ESAP funds? IF YES: DESCRIBE. IF NO: CHECK HERE ☐ AND GO TO Q. 11.

27-28/

DECK 6/13)

A. CARD 1. From which of the schools on this list (do/did) teachers participate in that program?	B. ASK FOR EACH SCHOOL NAMED IN A: (Are/were) teachers of (fifth/tenth) grade pupils involved?	
	Yes	No
	1	2
	1	2
	1	2
	1	2
	1	2
	1	2

11. Were (these or similar) teacher education programs provided by ESAP funds during the last school year (1970-71)?

29/9

Yes, same or similar 1

No, not provided last year 2

Differences in this category
last year (DESCRIBE BRIEFLY) . . 3

5

12. Were any of the supplies, equipment or materials purchased by ESAP funds made available district-wide or to more than one school so that you can't actually specify which school they belong to? IF YES: DESCRIBE. IF NO: CHECK HERE ☐ AND GO TO Q.13.

30-31/

(DECK 6/14)

A. CARD 1. From which of the schools on this list (do/did) teachers or pupils use the equipment or materials?	B. ASK FOR EACH SCHOOL NAMED IN A: (Are/Were) (fifth/tenth) grade pupils or teachers involved? Yes, pupils	 Yes, teachers	 No, neither
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3

---

13. Were (these or similar) supplies and equipment provided by ESAP funds during the last school year (1970-71)?

Yes, same or similar	1	32/9
No, not provided last year . . .	2	
Differences in this category last year (DESCRIBE BRIEFLY) .	3	

3

14. Were ESAP funds used for any other programs or other purposes that affected more than one school in the district? IF YES: DESCRIBE. IF NO: CHECK HERE ☐ AND GO TO Q. 15.

33-34/

(DECK 6/15)

A.	B.		
CARD 1. From which of the schools on this card (are/were) teachers or pupils involved in that program	ASK FOR EACH SCHOOL NAMED IN A: (Are/Were) (fifth/tenth) grade pupils or teachers involved?		
	Yes, pupils	Yes, teachers	No, neither
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3
	1	2	3

15. Were (these or similar) programs paid for by ESAP funds during the last school year (1970-71)?

Yes, same or similar	1	35/9
No, not provided last year . .	2	
Differences in this category last year (DESCRIBE BRIEFLY)	3	

Next, I have a series of detailed questions about the schools listed on Card 1. I'll start with (NAME OF SCHOOL), and we can either go through them all for one school or ask each question for the whole group of schools before going on to the next question--whichever plan seems most convenient to you. AFTER ALL SUPPLEMENTS, RETURN TO Q. 16, PAGE 9.

IF THERE ARE MANY SCHOOLS, COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE, LEAVE THE SUPPLEMENTS FOR ESAP DIRECTOR TO COMPLETE, AND ARRANGE TO PICK THE SUPPLEMENTS UP OR LEAVE BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE FOR ESAP DIRECTOR TO MAIL TO NORC, CHICAGO.

			Yes	No	
16.	A.	Have any previously all black high schools in this district been closed or converted into vocational or special schools?	1	2	36/9
	B.	Have any previously all black high schools in this district been integrated as high schools?	1	2	37/9
	C.	Are any previously all black high schools still all black?	1	2	38/9

17. A. ASK ITEMS (1)-(4); IF YES, ASK B BEFORE GOING TO NEXT ITEM.	A.		B. IF YES TO A:
	Yes	No	In what year was (that/the most recent)?
(1) Has there ever been a boycott in this district because of desegregation? 39/9	1	2	40-41/99
(2) Are there any segregated private schools in this community? 42/9	1	2	43-44/99
(3) Was there any effort made to defeat the superintendent or school board in an election since desegregation of schools? 45/9	1	2	46-47/99

18. Has there been a protest by whites this year?

Yes . . 1
No . . 2 48/9

19. Has there been a protest by blacks this year?

Yes . . 1
No . . 2 49/9

20. When was the most recent large protest by blacks here in (NAME OF COUNTY OR CITY) about a civil rights issue such as employment or education? (By large, I mean where there were demonstrations for more than one day, with arrests, or violence, or large numbers of people involved.)

1971	00	50-51/99
1970	01	
1969	02	
1968	03	
1967	04	
1966	05	
1965	06	
1964	07	
1963 or earlier	08	
Never	09	

21. In what year did this district first assign black students to attend previously all white schools? DO NOT COUNT VOLUNTARY TRANSFERS.

1971	00	52-53/99
1970	01	
1969	02	
1968	03	
1967	04	
1966	05	
1965	06	
1964	07	
1963 or earlier	08	
Never	09	

22. In what year did this district desegregate all of its previously white schools, or are some still all white?

1971 . . . . 0 54-55/ 99
1970 1
1969 2
1968 3
1967 4
1966 5
1965 6
1964 7
1963 or earlier 8
Some still white . . . 9

---

23. In what year did this district first require white students to attend previously all black schools?
DO NOT COUNT VOLUNTARY TRANSFERS.

1971 0
1970 1
1969 2
1968 . . . . 3 56-57/ 99
1967 4
1966 5
1965 6
1964 7
1963 or earlier 8
Never 9

---

24. In some districts the desegregation plan requires that some students attend schools that are not the nearest to their home.

A. Approximately how many, if any, white students here attend a school that is not the nearest school to their home for purposes of desegregation? 58-63/ 99

Number: ☐☐☐☐☐☐

B. Approximately how many, if any, black students here attend a school that is not the nearest school to their home? 64-59/ 99

Number: ☐☐☐☐☐☐

---

25. During the 1970-71 school year what was the current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance? 70-73/ 9999

$ ☐☐☐☐

---

26. Is the school board here elected at large, elected from districts, or appointed?

Elected-- 74/9
  at large 1
  from districts . . . 2
Appointed 3

27. Is the superintendent in this district elected or appointed?

Elected	1	75/9
Appointed	2	

---

28. Did (you/the superintendent) hold another position in this district before becoming superintendent?

Yes	1	76/9
No	2	

Thank you very much for your assistance.

INTERVIEWER REMARKS

TO BE FILLED OUT IMMEDIATELY AFTER INTERVIEW.

A. CODE RESPONDENT'S RACE/ETHNICITY:

Black	1	77/
White	2	
Mexican-American . . .	3	

B. CODE SEX:

Male	1	78/
Female	2	

C. Time Ended: ____________________

D. Total Length: ____________________

E. Date of Interview: ____________________

F. Signature of Interviewer: ________________________

G. Number of supplements completed during interview (ENCLOSE THEM WITH THIS INTERVIEW) ________

H. Plus number of supplements I left with ESAP Director to complete (LIST SPECIFIC SCHOOLS ON BACK OF FACE SHEET) + ________

I. Equals total supplements for this school district (should also equal total number of schools listed in Q. 7) = ________

J. IF ONE OR MORE IN H: What will ESAP Director do with the supplements?

Hold them for me to pick up on __________ (date) . . . 1

Mail them to NORC, Chicago in Business Reply Envelope 2

Other (SPECIFY) 3

NORC - 5038
March, 1972

OMB No.
Approval expires December 31, 1972

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Chicago

U.S. Office of Education Study
Evaluation of ESAP
and
Study of the Process of School Desegregation

Supplement for: ______________________________ School

School District: ______________________________

Please answer all of the questions in this booklet for the above school. All questions can be answered by either making a (✓) in a box, writing in a number, or giving a short description in your own words. If a question does not seem to apply or the answer is "none," please write that in so that we will know our information is complete.

OE form

S-1. A. During this school year (1971-72), did ESAP (Title 45) pay for any teacher (or teacher aide) preparation programs, institutes, workshops, or other in-service training programs for personnel at this school (other than district-wide programs that you may have told me about already)?

IF YES: DESCRIBE. IF NO: CHECK HERE ☐

B. Did fifth or tenth grade teachers participate?

Yes, fifth . . . ☐
Yes, tenth . . . ☐
No, neither . . . ☐

S-2. Were teacher or teacher aide preparatory programs paid for by ESAP for this school last year (1970-71)?

Yes, same or similar . . . ☐
No, no programs . . . . . ☐
Different programs PLEASE DESCRIBE . . . . ☐

S-3. A. During this school year (1971-72), did ESAP (Title 45) pay for any team teaching, ungraded classrooms, remedial or other special classes, or any other new techniques at this school?

IF YES: DESCRIBE. IF NO: CHECK HERE ☐

B. (Is/was) the fifth or tenth grade involved in these special classes or new techniques?

Yes, fifth grade . . . . . ☐
Yes, tenth grade . . . . . ☐
No, neither . . . . ☐

S-4. Last year (1970-71), did ESAP funds pay for any special classes or new techniques for this school?

Yes, same or similar . . . ☐
No, none . . . . ☐
Different (PLEASE DESCRIBE) ☐

S-5. A. During this school year (1971-72), did ESAP (Title 45) funds pay for any programs of physical care for the students at this school--things such as free hot lunch programs or medical or dental care?

IF YES: DESCRIBE. IF NO: CHECK HERE ☐

B. IF YES: (Are/Were) fifth or tenth grade students involved?

Yes, fifth . . . ☐
Yes, tenth . . . ☐
No, neither . . . ☐

S-6. Were physical care programs paid for by ESAP for this school last year (1970-71)?

Yes, same or similar program . . . ☐

No, no physical care program . . . ☐

Different programs
(PLEASE DESCRIBE) . . . . ☐

S-7. A. During this (1971-72) school year, did ESAP (Title 45) pay for any (other) special curriculum revisions at this school--besides what you may already have mentioned?

IF YES: DESCRIBE. IF NO: CHECK HERE ☐

B. IF YES: (Is/Was) the curriculum for the fifth or tenth grade involved?

Yes, for fifth . . . . . ☐

Yes, for tenth . . . . . ☐

No, neither . . . . ☐

S-8. Were curriculum revisions paid for for this school by ESAP last year (1970-71)?

Yes, same or similar . . ☐

No, no curriculum revisions last year . . . ☐

Different revisions
(PLEASE DESCRIBE) . . ☐

S-9.

CARD 2

A. At this school, how many full- and part-time specialists (LISTED BELOW) are paid for by ESAP funds during the 1971-72 school year? (Please do not include personnel hired on a community-wide or district basis that you may have mentioned before.)			B. How many are--				C. Available to 5th or 10th grade?			D. How many staff members in this category did ESAP provide last year (1970-71)?
	Full time	Part time	Black	White	Mex-Am.	Other	Yes, 5th	Yes, 10th	No	
Remedial reading teacher										
Remedial math teacher										
Music or art teacher										
Drama or speech teacher										
Gym teacher or coach										
Vocational education teacher										
Counselor's aides										
Guidance counselor										
Psychologist										
Social worker										
Speech therapist										
Regular (non-specialist) classroom teacher										
Teacher aides										
Library aide or clerk										
Librarian										
Nurse										
Audio-visual specialist										
Truant officer/home visitor										
Community relations specialist										
Administrator (not listed above)										
Other (What?)										

S-10.

A. During this school year (1971-72) did ESAP funds pay for materials and equipment for this school? (Please do not include any materials you may have mentioned earlier as belonging to more than one school.)			B. Is this available to the 5th or 10th grade?			C. Was this paid for by ESAP last year (1970-71)?	
	Yes	No	Yes, 5th	Yes, 10th	No	Yes	No
Text books							
Other written teaching materials							
Reading machine or other instructional equipment							
Audio visual equipment							
Testing materials							
Human or community relations literature							
Recreation equipment							
Office supplies							
School furnishing							
Renovations							
Additional space							
Were buses paid for by ESAP last year? CODE IN COL. C.	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨		

S-11. What other programs or services at this school were paid for by ESAP funds during this school year (1971-72)?

Thank you very much for your assistance.

5038
3/72

National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

COMMUNITY LEADER TELEPHONE INTERVIEW

BEGIN DECK 9

School District ______________________________ No. ☐☐☐ 1-3
(NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY)

Respondent's Name ______________________________ No. ☐ 4

Respondent's Telephone Number __________ / __________
Area code Tel. No.

Respondent's Occupation (if known) ______________________________

Respondent's Affiliation (if known) ______________________________

Respondent's Race/Ethnicity: Black 1
White 2
Mexican-American . . 3

RECORD OF CALLS

DATE	DAY OF WEEK	TIME OF DAY	RESULTS	INTER-VIEWER'S INITIALS

TIME BEGAN:	________	AM PM

INTRODUCTION

Hello, Mr./Ms. ____________________, this is (YOUR NAME) from the National Opinion Research Center. I'm calling from Chicago in connection with a study of school desegregation we are doing in a number of different school systems across the country.

We have been talking to some school people, but we are also interested in talking to a few other knowledgeable people in the community, such as yourself, to get their point of view.

Of course, your responses will be kept completely confidential. In fact, we are not going to mention (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY) by name in our report. (Our report will be a statistical analysis of what we learn.)

The questions are worded so that you can give a short answer, and they should take less than ten minutes to ask. Please keep in mind that we are particularly interested in your personal opinion about the schools in (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY).

IF RESPONDENT ASKS:	SAY:
How did you get my name?	We've been talking to a number of people in the community, and your name was mentioned. (We keep all names of people confidential, yours as well as anyone else's, so let me just say again that your name was mentioned as a person knowledgeable about the racial situation in [NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY].)
Who is paying for this?	NORC is conducting this study under contract with U.S. Office of Education. We will publish the statistical report, and probably the director of the study will write some articles in sociological and other learned journals.

First, in order for us to understand what the schools are like now, we need to know what has happened in the past few years.

1. Some southern school districts put up a great deal of resistance to desegregation by appealing decisions, making public statements, etc.. Others made only token resistance.

   Thinking back over the past 3 or 4 years, would you say that compared to other southern school systems, (NAME OF SCHOOL DISTRICT) put up a great deal of resistance, a moderate amount, or relatively little resistance?

Great deal (volunteered comments which suggest an unusually great amount of resistance)	1	10/9
Great deal (no volunteered comments)	2	
Moderate	3	
Relatively little	4	

2. How have the local political leaders responded to the desegregation issue in the past few years: Did they strongly oppose desegregation, mildly oppose it, did they not take a stand, or did they support desegregation?

Strongly oppose	1	11/9
Mildly oppose	2	
Took no stand (divided)	3	
Supported	4	

3. What about the white business leaders here--did they strongly oppose desegregation, mildly oppose it, did they not take a stand, or did they support desegregation?

Strongly oppose	1	12/9
Mildly oppose	2	
Took no stand (divided)	3	
Supported	4	

4. Would you say there was a great deal of organized white opposition to desegregation, a moderate amount, or relatively little?

Great deal 1 13/9

Moderate amount 2

Relatively little 3

---

5. In some communities there has been protest about school busing. In others there has not.

Has there been a great deal of protest about school busing in your community, a moderate amount, relatively little, or no protest about busing at all?

Great deal 1 14/9

Moderate amount 2

Relatively little 3

No protest about busing 4

No busing 5

---

6. In some places, the black community and its leaders have supported desegregation; in others they have opposed it.

On the whole, would you say that in the past 3 or 4 years, the black community and its leaders in (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY) have strongly supported desegregation, mildly supported it, or have they opposed desegregation?

Strong support. 1 15/9

Mild support 2

Some support, some opposition
(volunteered) 3

Neither supported nor opposed
(volunteered) 4

Opposed 5

7. How much civil rights activity has there been in (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY) in the past ten years? Would you say a great deal, a moderate amount, or relatively little?

INTERVIEWER NOTE:

CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY CAN INCLUDE: Committee presenting demands, filing a suit, demonstrations, or anything the respondent wants to consider as civil rights activity.

Great deal	1	16/9
Moderate amount	2	
Relatively little (or none) . . .	3	

---

8. In some communities civil rights activity has resulted in trouble--meaning either very bitter feelings, or many arrests, violence on the part of police or demonstrators, or property damage. Has there been, in your judgment a great deal of trouble here in the past decade, some trouble, or almost none?

Great deal	1	17/9
Some	2	
Almost none (or none)	3	

---

9. What has been the public position of the school superintendent about desegregation? Has he generally strongly supported desegregation, mildly supported desegregation, has he avoided taking a stand, or has he been opposed to it?

Strongly supported desegregation	1	18/9
Mildly supported desegregation .	2	
Avoided taking a stand	3	
Opposed desegregation	4	

---

10. What about the present school board members? Has the board as a whole strongly supported desegregation, mildly supported desegregation, has it been divided, or has it avoided taking a stand, or has it been opposed to it?

Strongly supported	1	19/9
Mildly supported	2	
Divided	3	
Avoided taking a stand	4	
Opposed	5	

11. In some cities, the community bi-racial committee dealing with school desegregation problems has been very forceful in influencing the way in which desegregation takes place; in other places the bi-racial committee has done almost nothing. Would you say the committee in your community has done a great deal, a moderate amount, or very little?

No committee (volunteered). .	4	20/9
A great deal	1	
A moderate amount	2	
Very little	3	

---

12. How good a job do you feel the school system is doing in educating white and black children now--would you say they are doing a very good job, a pretty good job, a fair job, or a poor job?

Very good job	1	21/9
Pretty good job	2	
Fair job	3	
Poor job	4	

---

13. How do you think the white community as a whole feels--do you think most whites are very pleased with the schools in (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY), moderately pleased, or displeased?

Very pleased	1	22/9
Moderately pleased	2	
Displeased	3	

---

14. How do you think the black community as a whole feels--do you think most blacks are very pleased with the schools in (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY), moderately pleased, or displeased?

Very pleased	1	23/9
Moderately pleased	2	
Displeased	3	

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15. ASK Q. 15 ONLY IF OCCUPATION NOT ALREADY KNOWN (CHECK p.1).

What is your occupation? ______________________________

IF THIS IS THE LAST COMMUNITY INTERVIEW FOR THIS SCHOOL DISTRICT, OMIT Q. 16 AND END INTERVIEW. FILL OUT INTERVIEWER REMARKS ON BOTTOM OF PAGE 8.

16. I have one last question. As you know, we want to talk to several people in the community who are interested in and informed about racial issues, but not school board members. Could you give the names of several such people?

IF RESPONDENT IS BLACK:	IF RESPONDENT IS WHITE:
A. For example, who would be a white businessman here in (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY) whom you think we should talk to?	A. For example, who would be a prominent Negro (black) businessman here in (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY) whom you think we should talk to?
________________ (NAME OF WHITE BUSINESSMAN)	________________ (NAME OF BLACK BUSINESSMAN)
B. How do you think we could best reach him?	B. How do you think we could best reach him?
________________ (NAME OF BUSINESS)	________________ (NAME OF BUSINESS)
________________ (ADDRESS OF BUSINESS)	________________ (ADDRESS OF BUSINESS)
C. Can you think of another white businessman here whom we should talk to?	C. Can you think of another Negro (black) businessman here whom we should talk to?
________________ (NAME OF WHITE BUSINESSMAN)	________________ (NAME OF BLACK BUSINESSMAN)
D. How do you think we could best reach him?	D. How do you think we could best reach him?
________________ (NAME OF BUSINESS)	________________ (NAME OF BUSINESS)
________________ (ADDRESS OF BUSINESS)	________________ (ADDRESS OF BUSINESS)
E. Could you think of a prominent white woman here in (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY), perhaps someone who is involved in the PTA (but not a school board member)?	E. Who would be the most prominent Negro (black) lawyer in (NAME OF CITY OR COUNTY)?
________________ (NAME OF WHITE WOMAN)	________________ (NAME OF BLACK LAWYER)
F. How could she be reached?	F. How could he be reached?
________________ (ADDRESS)	________________ (NAME OF BUSINESS)
________________	________________ (ADDRESS OF BUSINESS)

16. (Continued)

IF RESPONDENT IS BLACK:

G. Can you think of another prominent white woman here whom we should talk to?

____
(NAME OF WHITE WOMAN)

H. How could she be reached?

____
(ADDRESS)

____

IF RESPONDENT IS WHITE:

G. IF NO NEGRO LAWYER, END INTERVIEW. Can you think of another prominent Negro (black) lawyer here whom we should talk to?

____
(NAME OF BLACK LAWYER)

H. How could he be reached?

____
(NAME OF BUSINESS)

____
(ADDRESS OF BUSINESS)

Thank you very much for your time and interest. You have been most helpful.

TIME ENDED: ____________ AM PM

INTERVIEWER REMARKS

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________________________

DATE OF INTERVIEW: ☐☐ Month ☐☐ Date 24-26/

TOTAL LENGTH OF INTERVIEW: ________________ minutes

RESPONDENT IS:	Businessman	1	27/
	Prominent woman	2	
	Lawyer	3	
	Other (SPECIFY)	4	
RESPONDENT IS:	White (Anglo)	1	28/
	Black	2	
	Mexican-American	3	
	Other (SPECIFY)	4	
RESPONDENT IS:	Male	1	29/
	Female	2	

Survey 5038
2/72

National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

BEGIN
DECK 5

SCHOOL OBSERVATION FORM

The questions on this form can be answered in part by the supervisor when she is in the school for the first time. The remainder can be completed by the coordinator when she is in the school on the school survey day. The form should be returned to Chicago with other completed data forms for the school.

SCHOOL DISTRICT: ________________ NUMBER ☐☐☐ 1-3/

SCHOOL NAME: ________________ NUMBER ☐☐ 4-5/

1. Please rate the condition of :

	A. The landscaping around the school		B. The physical condition of the classrooms	
Very attractive and well maintained	1	10/9	1	11/9
Well maintained but nothing special	2		2	
Not too well maintained	3		3	
Had been nice once, but very bad condition now	4		4	
Poorly maintained/heavily littered	5		5	
No landscaping at all	6		////////////////////	

---

2. How many broken windows were there in the school on any single day?

None or very few .	1	12/9
Some	2	
Many	3	

---

3. Please rate the condition of lockers and/or locker doors.

They look to be generally fine.	1	13/9
A few locker doors are broken .	2	
Many locker doors are broken .	3	
There aren't any lockers . . .	4	

---

4. Are the water fountains in working order?

Yes	1	14/9
No	2	
There aren't any water fountains . .	3	

5. How many, if any, security officers are at this school? JUST RECORD THE NUMBER OF OFFICERS YOU HAVE SEEN ON ANY ONE DAY.

_______ security officers 15-16/

---

6. Are there student monitors in the halls?

Yes, while classes are in session .	1	17/9
Yes, between classes	2	
Yes, both of those	3	
No, neither	4	

---

7. Do students need a pass to be in the hall during the class sessions?

Yes	1	18/9
No	2	

---

8. A. How many of the following are displayed in the school, either on walls or in show cases, or displayed in some other way? RECORD "0" FOR NONE.

	NUMBER	
(1) Confederate flag	______	19-20/
(2) (Black/other minority group) cultural symbols	______	21-22/
(3) Pictures of famous (black/other minority group) people	______	23-24/
(4) Pictures of famous white people	______	25-26/

B. Were any of the following noticeable on walls?

	Yes	No	
(1) Art work done by students	1	2	27/9
(2) Graffiti or profanities	1	2	28/9
(3) Bulletin board for students to put up announcements .	1	2	29/9

---

9. Is this school named after a person? ASK SOMEONE IF NECESSARY.

Yes . (ANSWER A & B) .	1	30/9
No	2	

IF YES:

A. What (was/is) the race or ethnicity of that person?

Black	1	31/9
White	2	
Mexican or Mexican-American . .	3	
Other (SPECIFY)	4	

B. What was that person known for?

32-33/RR

10. Of the groups of students you observed walking together before, between, or after classes, how many interracial groups were there?

None 1 34/9

One 2

Two or three . . 3

Four or more . . 4

11. Is the pushing in the halls generally of a friendly nature or not?

Generally friendly 1 35/9

Not always friendly, but it doesn't seem to be related to race when it isn't friendly . 2

It does seem related to race when it is not friendly 3

Generally not friendly 4

Too hard to tell 5

12. How many teachers did you see walking together in the hall with one or more students?

None 1 36/9

One 2

Two or three teachers . . 3

Four or more teachers . . 4

13. Did you see any students talking pleasantly to teachers in their classrooms after class had been formally dismissed?

Many 1 37/9

Some 2

Just a few 3

None 4

14. How much interaction did you observe between teachers of different races--a great deal, some, a little, or none at all?

A great deal 1 38/9

Some 2

A little 3

None at all 4

All teachers are same race race 5

No opportunity to observe 6

15. Was the interaction you observed between teachers of different races friendly and natural or stilted?

Friendly and natural 1 39/9
Stilted 2
All teachers are same race . 3
No opportunity to observe . 4

16. Did you ever see the principal walking around the school?

Yes 1 40/9
No 2

17. Did you ever see the principal talking to a student somewhere other than his office?

Yes 1 41/9
No 2

18. Does the principal seem to like most of the students, or does he see them mainly as problems?

Likes students 1 42/9
Sees them as problems . . 2

19. Thinking about all the classrooms you happened to pass, did you see any classes where students appeared to be working together on some sort of group project?

Yes, many . . . 1 43/9
Yes, a few . . . 2
No, none . . . 3

20. Do any of the white boys have long hair (collar length or longer)?

Most 1 44/9
Many 2
A few 3
Didn't see any white boys . . 4

21. Do any of the black students have natural (Afro) hairdos?

Most 1 45/9
Many 2
A few 3
Didn't see any black students . 4

22. How about the black teachers, do any of them have natural (Afro) hairdos?

Most 1 46/9
Many 2
A few 3
Didn't see any black teachers . 4

23. FOR ELEMENTARY GRADES ONLY. Observe children at recess. Pick out the largest cluster of children on the playground. Are all the children in that group the same race or ethnic group?

Yes	1	47/9
No	2	

---

24. Is the atmosphere in the student cafeteria relaxed and friendly, just noisy, or were there tensions or fights?

Relaxed and friendly . . .	1	48/9
Just noisy	2	
Tense	3	
Fights	4	
Could not observe cafeteria at lunch time	5	
No cafeteria	6	

---

25. Were there any interracial groups sitting together at lunch?

None	1	49/9
One	2	
Two or three	3	
Four or more	4	
Could not observe at lunch time	5	
No cafeteria	6	

---

26. Would you say that the general atmosphere of the school is tense or relaxed?

Tense	1	50/9
Relaxed	2	
Neither (DESCRIBE)	3	

---

27. If you had a child of the age of any of the children in this school, is this the kind of school you would like a child of yours to attend?

I'd like it very much	1	51/9
I wouldn't mind, but I wouldn't be thrilled	2	
I would not like it (ANSWER A) . .	3	
I would not allow my child to attend this school (ANSWER A) .	4	

A. Why do you feel that way?

52-53/

28. TO BE ANSWERED BY WHOEVER INTERVIEWED THE PRINCIPAL IN THIS SCHOOL.

Just your personal opinion--do you feel that the principal of this school is the kind of person you would like to have as a supervisor?

Definitely would . . .	1	54/9
Probably would	2	
Probably wouldn't . . .	3	
Definitely wouldn't . .	4	

Any other comments?

Signature of first observer: ______________________________

Signature of second observer: ______________________________